COUNTIES IN TRANSITION

FRANK WILLIAM HOFFER

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COUNTIES IN TRANSITION

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* Published by The City Planning and Zoning Commissions, Roanoke, Virginia.
† Published by The Macmillan Company, New York.

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COUNTIES IN TRANSITION

A Study of County Public and Private Welfare Administration in Virginia

FRANK WILLIAM HOFFER
Associate Research Professor of Public Welfare
University of Virginia

THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH
IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, VIRGINIA
1929

THE MICHIE COMPANY, PRINTERS
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

INTRODUCTION

In the past quarter of a century there has been a veritable revolution in our ideas of the functions of a state government. The old concept, that government is best which governs least, has been discarded. No longer do we think that its powers and duties are limited to matters of territorial defense, courts, currency, postal service, imports and similar matters of a purely material and mechanical nature but that it should be concerned primarily with public welfare and the promotion of happiness. Modern and efficient state government today vitally affects every phase of human life.

This humanizing process is evident in public education, where the government not only offers education to all children of the State but also compels their parents to send them to school, and in public health, where it attempts to protect and preserve the health of all its people to the extent of regulating both personal and community health habits, but it is best illustrated, perhaps, in the field of public welfare. Here, all underprivileged children are considered wards of the State with their welfare a paramount concern—not as a matter of charity but social justice—and they are being dealt with intimately, personally, by trained, professional social workers and administrators. The prevention of delinquency, dependency and defectiveness, combined with the care of the victims of these conditions, now constitutes the third largest field of state government, to which is rapidly being brought the highest type of social and professional service.

To indicate the extent to which the government of the oldest of the American commonwealths has become a human instrument, it is only necessary to mention the Dairy and Food Inspection Acts of 1908, the Juvenile Court Acts of 1912, Desertion and Non-Support Act of 1915, Almshouse Consolidation Act of 1918, Workman's Compensation, Child Labor, Child Welfare, Compulsory School Attendance, Working Hours for Women, Public Welfare and other acts of 1922. Our government does respond to the reasonable needs of its people, following, in this respect, the foremost precept of modern, political science.

Where, so well as in Virginia with three centuries of political experience, could one find so interesting a field for research and study in the expanding function of government? Due to a strongly local sentiment and the necessity of rigid economy in government, as well

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as to the slower development of graduate studies in its schools, there has been, until recently, less of research in the social sciences here than in some other states.

Of great interest, therefore, is this thorough piece of work by Professor Frank W. Hoffer. Working under the direction of the recently established Institute Research Council of the University of Virginia, he has spent two years in studying a group of counties and accumulating data, all of which have been assembled in this volume for the benefit of government officials, public welfare and social work personnel and interested laymen. It is an example of the manner in which modern, educational institutions can render a high type of service to government in the field of human relationships.

FRANK BANE, Commissioner,
Virginia State Department of Public Welfare.

Richmond, Virginia,
January, 1929.

PREFACE

In 1926, The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Virginia, entered upon a program of research of problems relating primarily to Virginia. One of the major fields of study selected was that of public welfare.

Mr. Frank Bane, Commissioner of Public Welfare of Virginia, was asked to outline and direct the public welfare study. Under his leadership and supervision a comprehensive study of specific welfare problems in the state was formulated. The first studies were planned as explorative in nature so as to lay the foundation for a more intensive and continuous search after facts to the end that there may be assembled the most complete and exhaustive information possible on the problems of welfare—county, city, and state. A well balanced program of research affecting all phases of welfare—public and private—in Virginia, has been projected in some fifteen separate studies.

The present study is an approach and an introduction to the study of county public and private welfare. It may be taken as an index of the situation as it has developed, is developing, and may develop in the future. It is to be followed by a similar project for the cities of Virginia, the material for which is in hand at the present time.

In the preparation of this volume members of the State Department of Public Welfare gave valuable assistance and suggestions. Mr. Paul L. Blanford of the State Department assisted in assembling the material for two counties. To my colleagues on the staff of The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences and Professor Floyd N. House of the School of Sociology are due many valuable ideas. Many other individuals gave practical assistance and stimulating suggestions. Miss Helen L. Harrell, executive secretary of the Institute offered many suggestions improving the text. Grateful acknowledgment should be made of the cordial coöperation of county superintendents of public welfare and other public officials as well as the executives of private agencies in this study of public and private welfare in selected counties of Virginia.

FRANK W. HOFFER.

University, Virginia,
January, 1929.

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CHAPTER I

The Conduct of the Study

Background of the Study

IN RECENT years there has been much discussion and speculation as to the possibilities of effective county organization for welfare service, and while an increasing number of experiments in this direction have been made in various states, little has been written that embraces the total welfare program—public and private—of the county.[1] The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has devoted considerable attention to the study of county systems of care of children.[2] Odum and Willard in their book, Systems of Public Welfare, deal with the "scope, organization, and administration of state systems of public welfare in the United States."[3] The Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work for 1927 and earlier volumes discuss the county as a unit for social work or present some particular concrete type of county welfare work.

Interest in the development of welfare work on a county basis is seen in the provisions being made for county welfare units. North Carolina established a county system in 1919, Missouri in 1921, Virginia in 1922, and Illinois in 1925. While there are variations in the details of organization in the different states, the emphasis in all is upon a program carried on by a county organization which has some connection with the State Department of Public Welfare. The work of the county boards includes child care and protection, relief of dependent families, probation and parole, enforcement of social legislation, and other reconstructive and preventive efforts. Private relief and rehabilitation agencies have likewise given attention to the county as a unit for work. The Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Boy Scouts, health and kindred organizations are increasingly organizing their activities upon a county basis.

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1. The Annals-Public Welfare in United States, 1923.
2. United States Children's Bureau Publications:
   County Organization for Care and Protection, 1922, No. 107.
   Public Child-Caring Work in Certain Counties of Minnesota, North Carolina, and New York, 1927, No. 173.
   Child Welfare Conditions and Resources in Seven Pennsylvania Counties, 1927, No. 176.
   Child Welfare in New Jersey, 1927, Nos. 174, 175.
3. Odum, Howard W., and Willard, D. W., *Systems of Public Welfare,* 1925, p. 1.

These attempts at county welfare organization should be thought of in connection with the changes that have come and are in progress in rural life. The traditional pattern of rural life has been disrupted; the present generation of American farmers has experienced a more rapid transformation in their whole physical and spiritual environment than has occurred since the discovery of America. Profound social developments affecting the family, the community, and social practices have followed the invention of agricultural machinery, agricultural discoveries, and increased means of communication and transportation. The welfare of human beings has thus been markedly affected. In a large measure the isolation of the rural community has been broken down. This has facilitated the entrance of the farmer into a larger world far removed from the local neighborhood to which he was bound in the past. Railroads, rural free delivery, telephones, automobiles, good roads, and the radio have extended his horizons and created a new environment and new social contacts. The former life of farm and village people was that of the family, the neighborhood, the district school, and the country church. But the facilities at hand today have made these forms of social organization inadequate in themselves alone, and have created new wants and needs which necessitate a readjustment of rural society.

Several other factors now on the threshold of rural life are likely to have tremendous import in the daily life of country people. There is the movement for the decentralization of industry. According to the Federal Census of 1920, 53.1 per cent of all manufactured goods produced in Virginia were manufactured in five counties—Henrico, Norfolk, Roanoke, Campbell, and Pittsylvania—which employ 45.7 per cent of all persons engaged in manufacturing in the State. The 1920 census [4] shows that only twenty-nine of the one hundred counties in Virginia have urban populations and these contain only 29.2 per cent of the people. While the urban centers will no doubt continue to grow, there is a definite movement to locate industry in the smaller population centers. In 1927 four large industrial plants located in small community centers in Virginia. It is felt by many that the decentralization of industry has significance for improving the economic condition of the rural population. In one center of 9,000 people a labor supply survey discovered 10,000 persons living within driving distance who were willing to be employed in a new plant to be located in the community.

4. The United Census defines urban population as that residing in cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more, and rural population as that residing outside such incorporated places.

Labor supply surveys in other communities in Virginia reveal much the same situation. Undreamed of changes in rural life are likely to arise with the coming of hydro-electric power. While no one can predict specific social changes which may result from new inventions and discoveries, it is well to take cognizance of and understand past developments in order to visualize probable future conditions.

With these rapid changes taking place in rural living there is a need for much more comprehensive information on the status of county welfare service than is now available. Rural leaders are becoming aware of the fact that a satisfactory rural society does not just happen, but that it must be the result of an intelligent understanding of the factors in the situation and of a well considered plan to meet present and future needs. Only through assembling, analyzing and presenting in an orderly manner, the essential facts about the county can there be built up confidence in attempts to improve the existing situation. Here is the opportunity for research to aid farm folk in the adjustment of their welfare activities to the new and changing conditions. Officials both public and private are seeking accurate information and dependable guidance in order to promote sound administrative methods. Considerable attention has been given to case work, but little to the principles of administration. Much of the research in welfare work has been directed to the development of technique, which is important, but there is need to study the fundamental problems of welfare administration, the structure and processes of existing rural society, and the principles of social organization as a means whereby people may be able to readjust their activities to new conditions and to gain an intelligent control over their social environment.

The present study of public and private welfare agencies was undertaken to secure material on the county welfare situation; the data obtained should be interpreted in the light of the transitions taking place in the modes of living and habits of the people in the counties. The first task in such a study is to describe and classify the existing welfare agencies in order to get an understanding of the structure of rural welfare organizations, for it is the structural aspects of rural society and their interrelationships that have significance for interpreting welfare services. The phenomena in the structure of rural society which furnish the basis of our research are the human groupings or forms of association which various people have brought into existence to satisfy or care for welfare needs. The scope of the study is indicated in the general fields of welfare activity included, namely: (1) *dependency*—boards of public welfare, Red Cross, Salvation Army, Associated

Charities; (2) *delinquency*—jails, juvenile and domestic relations courts, probation service; (3) *character-building* and *recreational agencies*—Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H clubs; (4) *religious, civic* and *fraternal organizations*—churches, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Women's clubs and fraternal societies; (5) *health and hospital services*—county departments of health and nursing.

The services of these agencies are so interrelated that to exclude any one group would be to leave out an essential part of the picture. Frequently the dependency problems are also health problems and cannot be treated except on that basis. Many feel that there is a definite relationship between the existence or the lack of character-building and recreational agencies and delinquency. It is largely in the membership of the religious, civic, and fraternal organizations that the intelligence and leadership for welfare programs are found.

It should be recognized that any cross-section study of a community or of specific social conditions is only a partial analysis and should be supplemented by a case history of the community, agency, or individual; that means knowing something of the cultural-environmental influences which have played a part in the creation of the community, agency or individual. Professor Steiner states the problem as follows: "When the general situation has been studied and the fundamental problems discovered, there still remains the task of looking beneath the surface for the more subtle forces that have determined the course and nature of the development of the community. The natural history of the community, the number and quality of its leaders, the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs of the people, the undercurrents of factional strife, the unity gained through cooperative efforts—these and similar factors must be studied and evaluated, for they lie at the basis of community action." [5]

The study of agencies included in this volume represents but the beginning of the quest for a deeper understanding of the problems of welfare organization and development. More intensive studies of a similar kind must come in order that we may understand the community and its agencies as a whole, and thus the county. There is needed more adequate information on the social, economic, agricultural and industrial factors before a comprehensive statement of the welfare problem can be developed.

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5. Steiner, Jesse F., *Community Organization*, 1925, p. 200.

Gathering the Facts

A study of the welfare work in all of the one hundred counties of Virginia would involve more time than was at the disposal of the writer. Therefore six counties were selected—four with organized public welfare units and two without [6]—as representative of the varying conditions in the State, reflecting in the basic composition of population, vital statistics, distribution of population, and agricultural and industrial life, conditions ordinarily considered favorable to a fairly high degree of general well-being. Their fundamental, social and economic activities are similar, in the main, to those in the other Virginia counties.

In these counties it was found that variation abounds in the range and the nature of the welfare activities carried on; in some the welfare services are well developed, in others they are almost non-existent. One county places its greatest emphasis upon a child-welfare program, another centers its efforts upon mothers' aid; a general welfare program with emphasis upon outdoor poor relief features is found in another county; still another has co-ordinated the support and service of the private agencies with the county board of public welfare. Each county with or without a public welfare unit has definite historical reasons for the existing situation. In some instances, counties are in the process of rapid urbanization and industrialization, which tend to create new welfare problems and necessitate agencies to care for them. In one county the population growth is influenced by a large urban center, while the population increase of another is tied up with its unusual industrial expansion; in a third county the population growth for the last decade was less than one hundred per year, and not much more than that for several decades previous.

The six counties selected, sharing with the other counties of the State kindred social and industrial problems and questions of public policy in dealing with them, afford a rich field for the study of existing welfare activities. Of the two counties without public welfare units, one has a low per capita index of wealth, the other a high per capita index of wealth. Why one county organizes welfare services and another with equal wealth resources does not, is a question the understanding of which is important in promoting and planning welfare programs.

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6. There were only six counties in the State with organized public welfare units when the study was begun. Two years later there were eleven.

The study sought to analyze welfare laws and observe at first hand how these operate in concrete situations. The main object was to describe the practices that have grown up in the execution of the enacted public welfare statutes in regard to out-door poor relief, almshouses, jails and juvenile courts, and provision for the insane and mentally defective. In the nature of the case the study includes an evaluation of the administrative machinery set up by the county and State government.

In addition to the governmental agencies, there are private agencies that have come into existence to meet certain welfare needs. Some of these agencies are for people who have lost out for the time being in the struggle for a livelihood or are in danger of losing out. Such agencies are the family welfare societies, the Salvation Army, and the Red Cross. Other groups, such as the Boy Scouts and Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations, are regarded as character-forming agencies and may be considered as doing preventive welfare work. There are also the religious, civic, and fraternal agencies—fundamental in forming public opinion for welfare policies and programs, and often directly interested in sponsoring certain phases of welfare work. Whatever of wider traditions attaches to the organizations described, all have taken on local coloring, and local characteristics. This individualization has significance and is included in the picture.

Whether the activity be governmental or private, the object of the study is to present the important problems and achievements, to evaluate, describe, and analyze the actual series of activities and processes constituting the efforts of communities to help people, as they have come to be in the hands of the leaders in these counties.

The essential information for the study was secured from March to December, 1927, in a series of field investigations made agency by agency in the counties of Albemarle, Amherst, Arlington, Augusta, Rockingham, and Wise. From three to four weeks were spent in each county. The data were obtained from observation of the actual functioning of the agencies in the field. For example, every almshouse was visited and time spent in checking over the records, the physical equipment, the methods of care and treatment, and the character of the inmates. A similar procedure with slight variations to fit its character was followed with every other agency. The intensive study of each agency was based on carefully planned schedules. First hand observation of conditions in the counties as well as of agencies was made; written inquiries and personal interviews with individuals

in possession of experience or information pertaining to the welfare problems were part of the procedure. Supplementary information was secured by an examination of data available through the census and through state and national agencies.

Two kinds of information about the work of the organizations in these counties were sought: (1) comparable, measurable, objective facts which could be statistically expressed; (2) intangible information, such as opinions, attitudes, personnel morale, policies, and administrative practices.

The first type of information was gathered by means of carefully prepared schedules, the tabulated results of which appear in the statistical tables accompanying the text. The outlines used contained some 33 pages and 528 items arranged under separate topics, these being classified under six major divisions. The preparation of the schedule for the gathering of the desired information involved a clear understanding of the purpose of the study, the use to which the information could be put, a familiarity with the different welfare agencies, and a discriminating sense of the important and unimportant in welfare work. It was recognized at the outset that the information gathered must embrace all the public and private welfare activities of the entire county before an intelligent grasp of its welfare activities could be comprehended.

Securing the second type of information involved consultations with welfare workers, directors and board members of the welfare agencies, people served by these agencies, and observation of welfare workers and their methods of work. All the material available from records, from the experiences of those responsible for welfare activities, and from the experience and ideas of others who have given thought to these problems was assembled and recorded in field notes. Not only were workers and officials of public and private agencies interviewed, but also citizens in the community who had any special knowledge of or interest in welfare problems. In the process of gathering the information representatives of the agencies spent hours in helping to secure first hand, objective data. It should be said that no technique exists for measuring some of the vital data involved; for example, the character-building influence of an activity or the spirit of an executive or board member, yet it is certain that attention must be given to such matters.

Analysis and Interpretation of Material

After facts have been gathered, the next step is their analysis and

interpretation. What do they mean? With facts in hand, if they are to be of real use, they must be organized, described, analyzed, compared, and basic principles deducted from them. The present volume is a presentation of the data gathered in an extended study of welfare conditions in a select number of counties. It was preceded by preliminary reports on each county, some of which are being printed as separate county studies. The material was considered in group meetings in certain counties and by interested individuals in others. In all cases the agencies concerned had an opportunity to check and correct their own material before the final county manuscript was drafted from which the material was taken for this volume.

The scope of the study and the structure of the report are shown in the chapter outline. Each chapter has three main parts: first, a statement of the historical development and the recognized practices current in the particular field under discussion; second, the material gathered in the field study; third, the problems involved in furthering the well-being of the local community.

An attempt is made to give a picture of the social and economic life of these counties, the details being selected always with a view to illuminating the problems of public welfare. Matters of political organization which have a bearing upon the study are included. Such a description seeks to do more than state the public welfare situation. It should give the reader some conception of the different and contrasting methods and ways which the counties have adopted in attacking their problems. Some of the welfare practices are changing under the impact of new knowledge becoming available in the natural and social sciences. Methods used a decade ago are in the process of being cast off; description of certain conditions existing today more than likely will not be true ten years hence, perhaps in less time.

Much of the data needed is not of the sort which lends itself readily to quantitative treatment. The reaction of individuals to changes in economic and industrial life, the spirit of the individual administering welfare agencies—these are incommensurable in quantitative terms. It has been necessary to describe each situation separately and to use cases as illumination of a thesis rather than as irrefutable proof such as is possible to adduce in the physical sciences; the student of the more intangible and psychological aspects of human behavior is forced to illuminate rather than demonstrate a thesis. The composition of the background against which the welfare agencies act can be described in accurate and general terms, but the

interactions of these agencies as a function growing out of adaptation to a situation cannot be described without reference to it.

In the interest of brevity the text concerns itself primarily with the major and common tendencies. No attempt is made to point out the differences among the agencies working in the same field nor to evaluate directly the efficiency of the agencies. Drawing conclusions and making recommendations form no part of the study though some may be obvious. Their statement is left to those who administer the agencies.

The material is presented objectively and comparatively so far as possible and always with an educational purpose in mind. This was done because it seems proper for such a study as the present one to be given in such a way as to inform the community upon welfare matters and thereby provide a basis for more intelligent public action.

CHAPTER II

Characteristics of the Counties

The County in Virginia

THE county in Virginia is a copy of its English prototype, the shire, an Anglo-Saxon local governmental division which existed in England before the days of King Alfred.[1] In the earliest years of the Colony the unit for representation was a grouping of adjacent plantations and settlements. Later, in 1634, the Colony was divided into eight shires in each of which a court was to be held every month.[2] In 1639 the name county appears in the laws of Virginia, and from that time it has been the unit of local government, as the town has been in New England. It remains to day the foundation of local order and government. While each county is divided into magisterial districts, the latter possess little or no power. Though the county has no constitution or code separate from that of the State, it is allowed within the limits prescribed by state law to exercise powers of local government.

The county is the unit of local representation, taxation, and administration under state laws that do not provide adequate machinery of oversight and control. It is an area of government and administration created by state authority for purposes of self-government and also used extensively as an instrument for state administration. The county affords the people an opportunity to determine some governmental policies, to levy and collect taxes, to make certain appropriations, and to administer policies through officers of their own choosing. Thus as regards local affairs the county appears as something more than an administrative area. The county board of supervisors seems to be a quasi-legislative body even though it does not exercise the pure legislative function of determining civil relationships and of fixing the liabilities and penalties that grow out of social and economic contacts. "The problem of the county government is complicated by the dual position of the county. The county is an administrative division, or unit, of the State, and is governed by the laws of the State, though it enjoys also a limited measure of local autonomy. The great majority of the officers of the county such as the treasurer, the sheriff, the

1. Fiske, John, *Civil Government in United States*, 1892, pp. 48-50.
2. Henning, I, 224.

clerk, the commissioner of revenue, and the Commonwealth's attorney, thus occupy a dual relation, serving both the State and the county. These officers are elected locally. More directly under the control of the State are the officers of the county schools, while the county farm demonstration agent derives his salary from Federal as well as county and state appropriations.

"The county board of supervisors is regarded as being at the head of the county government. This is true, however, only in a limited sense. The board of supervisors has little direct control over the great majority of the county officers or their work, its chief function being the fixing of tax levies, the auditing of the accounts of the county and its officers, and the supervision of public buildings, bridges and roads. Most of the county officers, by constitutional provision, are elected by the qualified voters of the county at large, while the supervisors are elected from the magisterial districts. Other officers are appointed by the judge of the circuit court." [3]

There is no centralized authority in the county. The chief source of ineffective management of county affairs is found in the fact that there is no directing head and no unifying financial control. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research has this to say:

"The present county government has no responsible head; it is without a chief administrative officer and the board of supervisors controls through appointment only a small part of the county administration. Authority for carrying on the administrative work of the county at the present time rests with many individuals. The voters of the county have little power in the determination of county policies. It is true that they elect a number of administrative officers besides the members of the boards of supervisors, but this serves only to dissipate authority and to increase the difficulties of securing effective and economical county government. In fact, there is nothing to commend the present form of county government in Virginia. In many of the counties it is grossly political, careless, wasteful, and thoroughly inefficient. It has been that way for years, but still it exists and seems to flourish. Perhaps the reason for this is that the people of the State have not yet become aware of the possibility of establishing a different form of county government, which is less costly, more efficient, and better able to meet modern conditions." [4]

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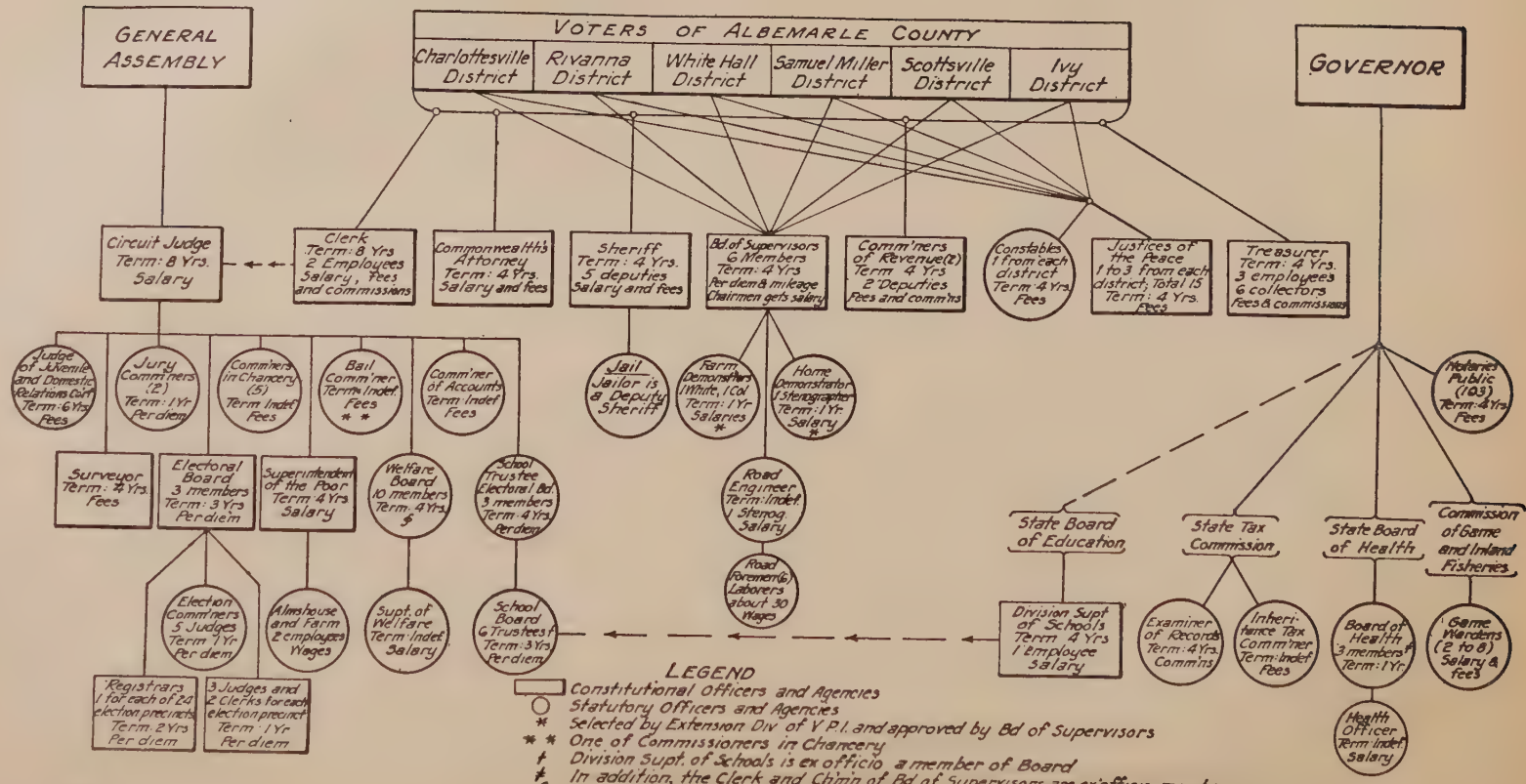
3. Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government in Virginia, 1924, pp. 83-84.
4. New York Bureau of Municipal Research, *County Government in Virginia*, 1927, p. 6.

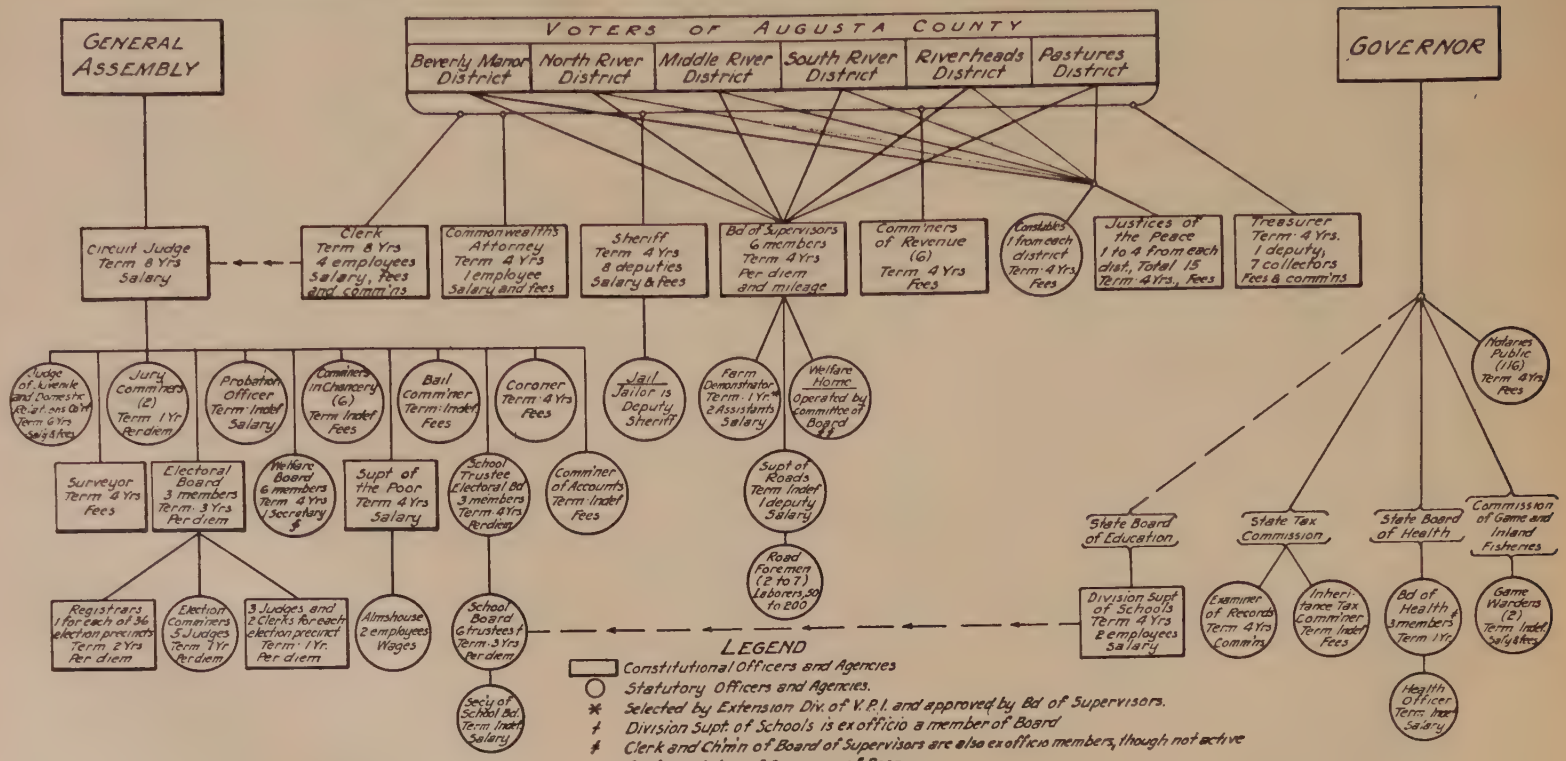
ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ALBEMARLE COUNTY, VA.


GENERAL ASSEMBLY
VOTERS OF ALBEMARLE COUNTY
Charlottesville District
Rivanna District
White Hall District
Samuel Miller District
Scottsville District
Ivy District
GOVERNOR
Circuit Judge Term: 8 Yrs. Salary
Clerk Term: 8 Yrs 2 Employees Salary, Fees and commissions
Commonwealth's Attorney Term: 4 Yrs. Salary and fees
Sheriff Term: 4 Yrs. 5 deputies Salary and fees
Bd of Supervisors 6 Members Term: 4 Yrs Per diem & mileage Chairmen gets salary
Comm'ners of Revenue(2) Term 4 Yrs 2 Deputies Fees and comm'ns
Constables 1 from each district Term 4 Yrs. Fees
Justices of the Peace 1 to 3 from each district; Total 15 Term: 4 Yrs. Fees
Treasurer Term: 4 Yrs. 3 employees 6 collectors fees & commissions
Judge of Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court Term: 6 Yrs. Fees
Jury Comm'ners (2) Term: 1 Yr Per diem
Comm'ners in Chancery (5) Term Indef. Fees
Bail Comm'ner Term: Indef. Fees **
Comm'ner of Accounts Term: Indef. Fees
Jail Jailor is a Deputy Sheriff
Farm Demonstrators 1 White, 1 Col. Term: 1 Yr. Salaries *
Home Demonstrator 1 Stenographer Term: 1 Yr. Salary *
Notaries Public (103) Term: 4 Yrs. Fees
Surveyor Term: 4 Yrs. Fees
Electoral Board 3 members Term: 3 Yrs Per diem
Superintendent of the Poor Term 4 Yrs Salary
Welfare Board 10 members Term: 4 Yrs. $
School Trustee Electoral Bd. 3 members Term: 4 Yrs. Per diem
Road Engineer Term: Indef. 1 Stenog. Salary
Road Foremen (6) Laborers about 30 Wages
State Board of Education
State Tax Commission
State Board of Health
Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries
Election Comm'ners 5 Judges Term 1 Yr Per diem
Almshouse and Farm 2 employees Wages
Supt. of Welfare Term Indef. Salary
School Board 6 Trustees † Term: 3 Yrs. Per diem
Division Supt of Schools Term 4 Yrs 1 Employee Salary
Examiner of Records Term: 4 Yrs. Comm'ns
Inheritance Tax Comm'ner Term: Indef. Fees
Board of Health 3 members # Term: 1 Yr.
Game Wardens (2 to 8) Salary & fees
Registrars 1 for each of 24 election precincts Term: 2 Yrs Per diem
3 Judges and 2 Clerks for each election precinct Term: 1 Yr Per diem
Health Officer Term: Indef. Salary
LEGEND
Constitutional Officers and Agencies
Statutory Officers and Agencies
* Selected by Extension Div of V.P.I. and approved by Bd of Supervisors
** One of Commissioners in Chancery
† Division Supt. of Schools is ex officio a member of Board
‡ In addition, the Clerk and Chmn of Bd of Supervisors are ex officio members
$ Performs duties of Overseers of Poor

1926

New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF AUGUSTA COUNTY, VA.


GENERAL ASSEMBLY
VOTERS OF AUGUSTA COUNTY
Beverly Manor District
North River District
Middle River District
South River District
Riverheads District
Pastures District
GOVERNOR
Circuit Judge Term 8 Yrs Salary
Clerk Term 8 Yrs 4 employees Salary, Fees and comm'ns
Commonwealth's Attorney Term 4 Yrs 1 employee Salary and fees
Sheriff Term 4 Yrs 8 deputies Salary & fees
Bd of Supervisors 6 members Term 4 Yrs Per diem and mileage
Comm'ners of Revenue (6) Term 4 Yrs Fees
Constables 1 from each district Term 4 Yrs Fees
Justices of the Peace 1 to 4 from each dist., Total 15 Term 4 Yrs., Fees
Treasurer Term 4 Yrs. 1 deputy, 7 collectors Fees & comm'ns
Judge of Juvenile and Domestic Relations Ct Term 6 Yrs Salary & fees
Jury Comm'ners (2) Term 1 Yr. Per diem
Probation Officer Term Indef Salary
Comm'ners in Chancery (6) Term Indef Fees
Bail Comm'ner Term Indef Fees
Coroner Term 4 Yrs Fees
Jail Jailor is Deputy Sheriff
Farm Demonstrator Term 1 Yr.* 2 Assistants Salary
Welfare Home Operated by Committee of Board $$
Notaries Public (116) Term 4 Yrs Fees
Surveyor Term 4 Yrs Fees
Electoral Board 3 members Term 3 Yrs Per diem
Welfare Board 6 members Term 4 Yrs 1 Secretary $
Supt of the Poor Term 4 Yrs Salary
School Trustee Electoral Bd 3 members Term 4 Yrs Per diem
Comm'ner of Accounts Term Indef Fees
Supt of Roads Term Indef 1 deputy Salary
Road Foremen (2 to 7) Laborers, 50 to 200
State Board of Education
State Tax Commission
State Board of Health
Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries
Registrars 1 for each of 36 election precincts Term 2 Yrs Per diem
Election Comm'ners 5 Judges Term 1 Yr. Per diem
3 Judges and 2 Clerks for each election precinct Term 1 Yr. Per diem
Almshouse 2 employees Wages
School Board 6 trustees † Term 3 Yrs Per diem
Secy of School Bd Term Indef Salary
Division Supt of Schools Term 4 Yrs 2 employees Salary
Examiner of Records Term 4 Yrs Comm'ns
Inheritance Tax Comm'ner Term Indef Fees
Bd of Health ‡ 3 members Term 1 Yr.
Health Officer Term Indef Salary
Game Wardens (2) Term Indef Salary & fees
LEGEND
Constitutional Officers and Agencies
Statutory Officers and Agencies.
* Selected by Extension Div. of V.P.I. and approved by Bd of Supervisors.
† Division Supt. of Schools is ex officio a member of Board
‡ Clerk and Chm'n of Board of Supervisors are also ex officio members, though not active
$ Perform duties of Overseers of Poor
$$ Probation Officer in charge of Home

1926

New York Bureau of Municipal Research

The scattered, disjointed and irresponsible type of organization that exists in the counties is vividly presented by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in charts showing the organization of the counties. Two of these charts, those of Albemarle and Augusta counties are here reproduced.

Without going into other phases of county government, it will be seen from an examination of the two charts that the welfare work is divided in Albemarle County among three groups—the juvenile and domestic relations court judge, the superintendent of the poor, and the County Board of Public Welfare. In Augusta County there are in addition to these, a probation officer and a Welfare Home. The officers and boards in both counties with the exception of the Welfare Home, are appointed by the Judge of the Circuit Court who is responsible to the General Assembly, but there is little direct coöperation between them.

When one turns to the organization of the private agencies in the counties, the confusion is still greater. Only one county has a Council of Social Agencies. Each agency pursues its own program with little reference to the other agencies in the community. It seems that the welfare activities of the counties are an accretion of individual activities, developed in accordance with individual prestige; and administered in response to varying local and personal sentiments; there is no coordination or conscious cooperation between the agencies, no unified program of welfare service.

Geography and History

The individuality of each of the six counties included in the study is as distinct as that of any six human beings. In one case there is the mining county as contrasted with the agricultural counties. There is the satellite county in the shadow of the Nation's capital upon which it is dependent for its very existence. One county is low in per capita wealth and another has a high per capita wealth, but neither has an organized public welfare unit. In order that the character of the economic and social life of the counties may be better understood, they have been described in some detail.

Albemarle County

Albemarle County with an area of 751 square miles lies in the Piedmont region at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, a few miles northeast of the geographical center of the State, 144 miles (by rail) southwest of Washington and 90 miles northwest of Richmond. Topographically,

the county consists of two more or less parallel mountain ranges, running roughly northeast and southwest, with a valley between, and a plain on the eastern side of the eastern range. The altitude of the county ranges from about 400 feet above sea level in the eastern part to 3,900 feet in the western portion. The most important mountains are the Southwest Mountains and the Blue Ridge Mountains.

The first white settler took up his residence in what is now Albemarle County in 1727. The act creating the county was passed by the Colonial Legislature in 1774; the county government was organized the following year. The settlers of the county came in the main from two sources: The English of Jamestown followed the James River west and planted settlements in the county; the Scotch-Irish came in by way of the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania. Some French and a few stragglers from Burgoyne's Hessians also settled in the county.[5]

Amherst County

Amherst County with an area of 470 square miles, lies in the Blue Ridge section of the State and on the north bank of the James River which forms the boundary on two sides for over fifty miles. The soil ranges from extremely poor to very rich lands representing a great variety of degrees of fertility. Much of the land however, is unsuited for cultivation because of rocks, red clay, and the ragged character of the topography which makes it difficult to improve. All the soil is deficient in lime, so that it is necessary for the farmers to buy it in great quantities if large crops are to be expected. While large areas of the county are given over to grazing, some portions are not even suitable for that purpose. On the whole the county is poorly adapted for productive farming. There is little mining done although there are some manganese and copper deposits. The expense of mining is so great, however, and the returns so small that next to nothing is done. As yet little industrial development has taken place and perhaps none will ever come.

The county was organized in 1761. It was settled chiefly by the English who came up the James River from communities further down the river. The county has had a slow growth in population, gaining but 7,072 inhabitants since 1850. Large migrations have gone out from it all through the years. Six counties in Missouri are largely made up of migrants from Amherst County. There is a feeling on the part of some that so much emmigration from the county has been detrimental

5. Albemarle County. Economic and Social, 1922, ch. I.

to its development. It may be that geographic conditions have so loaded the dice that people of the more able type move away. Few teachers and ministers from the outside care to remain. Parents make it possible for their children to go elsewhere in search of careers. The more competent rarely remain all their lives, and still more rarely do they want their children to do so. The higher the degree of civilization and the greater the freedom with which people can move themselves, the greater becomes the tendency toward concentration of manufacturing, education, and every other kind of leadership in the region which affords the most in the way of comfort, health and energy. Amherst County lacks these attractions.

Arlington County

Arlington County lies directly across the Potomac River from Washington with which it is more closely allied today in everything but local government than with Virginia. It has an area of 31 square miles and comprises with most of Alexandria the territory ceded to the Federal Government by Virginia for the District of Columbia and given back by it to the State in 1846. The county is developing into a great metropolitan area as part of greater Washington. Because of its proximity to the capital and the ties which bind its rapidly growing population to that side of the river many perplexing problems have been and are being created. The rural aspects of the county have almost disappeared. The unincorporated and practically contiguous towns of Clarendon, Cherrydale, and Ballston, with the extensive suburban developments of Ashton Heights, Lee Heights, Lyon Park, and Lyon Village, form the population centers of the county. The separate communities and subdivision developments are rapidly growing toward each other so that the newcomer is at a loss to distinguish where one town ends and another begins. The entire region is suffering from "growing pains;" the county is agitated from end to end by all sorts of intricate problems arising from a wide-spread dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

Arlington County is destined to be an important integral part of the metropolitan area of Washington. Outside of the brickyards and railroad yards in the southern part of the county, it has no important commercial or industrial enterprise. It is strictly a residential section. Most of the new residents have come from Washington and continue to earn their living in the national capital.

Augusta County

Augusta County with an area of 1,006 square miles is the second

largest county in the State. It lies in the Shenandoah Valley to the west of the center of the State. The Blue Ridge Mountains lie on the eastern border and separate it from middle Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley. On the west side of the county are the Alleghany Mountains. Between these two ridges is the fertile Shenandoah Valley characterized by level stretches and rolling land.

So far as known, the country now embraced in Augusta County was first entered by white men in August, 1716, by Colonel Spotswood, Governor of Virginia. It was some sixteen years after the discovery of the country before extensive settlements were made. The county was settled in great measure by Germans, who came in by way of the Great Valley from Pennsylvania. They were followed by many Scotch-Irish who came by the same route and from the same territory. In 1738, the county was formed by an act of the General Assembly. Staunton, a small settlement of intellectual, sturdy, industrious, and religious Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, became in 1745 the seat of county government.

The records of the county court of Augusta show that a large class of "Redemptioners" or "indentured servants" were in the county prior to the Revolution. These indentured servants served a stipulated time to pay the cost of their transportation from Europe. They were sold and treated as ordinary slaves until their period of service was over.

Evidence of the philanthropic turn of mind of the Germans and Scotch settlers is cited by the historian Bancroft: "When the sheaves had been harvested and the corn threshed and ground in a country as yet poorly provided with barns or mills, the backwoodsmen of Augusta County, without any pass through the mountains that could be called a road, noiselessly and modestly delivered at Frederick one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour" for the needy of Boston. Again in 1777, there being a scarcity of provisions in Washington County, southwest Virginia, the people of Augusta sent supplies.

Rockingham County

Rockingham County with an area of 876 square miles lies in the heart of the Shenandoah Valley. The county extends from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Alleghany Mountains on the west which form the dividing line between the county and West Virginia. The topography is typical of that of the Valley. It is rolling and well drained by the North and South forks of the Shenandoah River.[6]

6. Waddell, Jos. A., *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia,* 1886, chs. 1 and 2.

The county was created from Augusta County by an act of the General Assembly in October, 1777. Three-fourths of the people of Rockingham County are of German stock, whose ancestors came into the Valley in Colonial days. Many English, Scotch, and Irish are also to be found in the county. Thrift, energy, and prosperity have long been characteristic of the inhabitants.

A notable feature of the life and character of the people in Rockingham County is found in their love for music. A general habit of singing in home, church, and school has been cultivated. For more than a hundred years the county has been a song and a distributing center for musical literature and impulses, largely as a result of the life and work of Joseph Funk (1777-1862) and his descendants.[7]

Wise County

Captain Christopher Gist, a member of the Ohio Company of Virginia, in 1751 was the first white man to look upon what is now Wise County.[8]

The surface of the county is extremely rugged and mountainous, a fact which makes less than one-fifth of it suitable for agricultural purposes. Many mountain ranges are present, which as a rule, follow a northeast-southwest direction. The point of least elevation is 1,409 and the highest 4,162 feet above sea level.

The first settlement in the county was made about 1770 on the Guest River near the present town of Coeburn. The county was formed in 1855 from Russell, Scott and Lee counties. The only means of a livelihood then was hunting, trapping, and tilling the soil. The only roads connecting the settlements and linking them with the outside world were the few ungraded cart trails and bridle paths that had been cut through laurel thickets. There was nothing within the county that could be called industry. While millions of tons of coal lay hidden beneath the soil, the settlers had no means for its extraction nor facilities for getting it to market, if mined.

The building of the Louisville and Nashville, and the Norfolk and Western Railroads to meet at Norton in 1890, initiated changes of far-reaching import in the county; coal mines were opened, long batteries of coke ovens were built; thousands of people from the coal fields of Pennsylvania came. The industrial opportunities offered have been a large factor, drawing people to the county. The history of the development of Wise County from a backwoods section

7. Wayland, J. W., *A History of Rockingham County,* 1912.
8. Darlington, William M., *Christopher Gist's Journals,* 1893, p. 134.

of Virginia into one of the greatest industrial counties in the South constitutes a romantic story.

Agricultural and Social Life

The agricultural status of the counties is important in an interpretation of welfare activities, since such social questions as home surroundings, labor relations, school and church revenues, and participation in community activities have an economic basis. In turn the economic basis of community and family life is much influenced by the means for securing a livelihood. The basic economic data for the six counties is presented in tables in the following pages.

TABLE 1

Classification of Farms According to Size, 1925 [9]

Size of Farms	Albemarle		Amherst		Arlington	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Under 3 acres	3	.09	3	.12	....	.....
3 to 9 acres	570	16.87	185	7.69	17	34.69
10 to 19 acres	456	13.50	316	13.13	13	26.53
20 to 49 acres	590	17.46	566	23.52	9	18.37
50 to 99 acres	532	15.74	551	22.89	6	12.25
100 to 174 acres	563	16.66	508	21.11	2	4.08
175 to 259 acres	297	8.79	168	6.89	2	4.08
260 to 499 acres	235	6.95	90	3.73	....	.....
500 to 999 acres	103	3.05	15	.62	....	.....
1,000 acres and over	30	.89	5	.21	....	.....
Total	3,379	100.	2,407	100.	49	100.

TABLE I—continued

Size of Farms	Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Under 3 acres	3	.08	5	.13	2	.10
3 to 9 acres	484	13.49	534	14.17	526	25.15
10 to 19 acres	371	10.34	432	11.46	377	18.02
20 to 49 acres	606	16.90	796	21.13	578	27.64
50 to 99 acres	693	19.32	856	22.72	399	19.08
100 to 174 acres	795	22.16	669	17.75	149	7.12
175 to 259 acres	345	9.62	263	6.98	32	1.53
260 to 499 acres	243	6.78	174	4.62	21	1.00
500 to 999 acres	39	1.09	30	.80	5	.24
1,000 acres and over	8	.22	9	.24	2	.10
Total	3,587	100.	3,768	100.	2,091	100.

9. U. S. Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce; Census of Agriculture, 1925.

A comparison of table 1 with the figures for 1920, 1910, and 1900 indicates a marked decline in the larger size farms and the growth of the number of smaller farms. In Arlington County farms have almost disappeared, there being less than six in 1927. This is significant in interpreting the county.

Society is dependent upon communication and transportation for its effective development. An important aspect of communication and transportation is good highways. Poor roads isolate the farm home, and hinder the consolidation of schools, the development of social centers, and enlarged social contacts. The character of the highways in the six counties is presented in table 2.

TABLE 2

FARMS ON DIFFERENT KINDS OF ROADS, 1925 [10]

County	Concrete or brick	Macadam	Gravel	Improved dirt	Unimproved dirt	All other
Amherst	.....	346	.....	376	1,661	33
Albemarle	122	472	22	318	2,305	140
Arlington	16	8	.....	19	6	.....
Augusta	.....	1,041	171	99	2,266	10
Rockingham	.....	1,000	217	504	2,002	45
Wise	12	470	.....	387	1,076	146
Total	150	3,337	410	1,703	9,316	374

This table shows that a considerable portion of the farm homes in these six counties are located on unimproved dirt roads. The per cent of farm homes on such roads are as follows: Arlington 12.2, Wise 51.1, Rockingham 53.1, Augusta 63.1, Albemarle 68.2, Amherst 69.0. If good roads are one of the most important factors in enabling people to communicate, then all but Arlington County have costly barriers to prevent people from grouping themselves in large efficient units.

No one can fail to appreciate the importance of the size of farms and the value of land per acre in relation to the economic well-being of the county. The value of land is determined largely by what can be produced on it. Production is determined by the character of the soil and its relief. Further the value of land reflects in some measure the economic status of the population and the use to which land is

10. U. S. Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce; Census of Agriculture, 1925.

put. Table 3 gives the land value in relation to the average size of farms, and the per cent in farms.

TABLE 3

NUMBER, PER CENT, AVERAGE SIZE, AND VALUATION OF LAND PER ACRE, 1925 [11]

County	Number of farms	Per cent in farms	Average size of farms	Value of land per acre [12]
Albemarle	3,379	81.2	115.5	$67.20
Amherst	2,407	68.3	85.4	39.30
Arlington	49	8.6	35.8	591.51
Augusta	3,587	57.6	103.4	90.26
Rockingham	3,768	59.1	87.9	92.71
Wise	2,091	34.1	43.8	67.55
	15,281			

In Arlington County the value of land per acre is exceedingly high because of the rapidly developing urban situation. Amherst County stands the lowest, followed by Wise. The value of the land, excluding buildings, per acre, is as follows: Albemarle $39.60, Amherst $24.49, Arlington $371.60, Augusta $58.79, Rockingham $60.61, and Wise $46.68. These figures indicate in some degree the use being made of the land.

In a measure the concentration of population is a reflection of the use of the land. Table 4 gives the density of the population in the counties studied.

TABLE 4

AREA AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION, 1920 [13]

County	Area in square miles	Density
Albemarle	751	48.9
Amherst	470	42.1
Arlington	31	1,100.0
Augusta	1,006	45.0
Rockingham	876	41.0
Wise	420	110.7

Arlington is the smallest county in the State and at the same time by including the city of Alexandria it is the most densely populated. Outside of Wise County which is one of the eight counties with a

11. U. S. Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce; Census of Agriculture, 1925.
12. Value of buildings included.
13. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920.

density of one hundred or more per square mile, the other counties fall below the State average which is 57.4 inhabitants per square mile. Albemarle, Augusta, Amherst, and Rockingham rank 29th, 42nd, 46th and 51st respectively in the list of Virginia's one hundred counties as to density.[14]

Sparse population and number of towns found on poor lands handicap the people who live on the land. It makes it more difficult to market products, finance schools, obtain medical services, and gain the advantage of contact with the rest of the world. Two counties in this study illustrate the difference. In Amherst County there are 42 people per square mile as compared with 1100 in Arlington County. The value of land per acre is $39 in Amherst and $592 in Arlington. Other marked differences exist.

Table 5 shows the number of families and dwellings in the six counties for 1920.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND DWELLINGS PER COUNTY, 1920[15]

County	Families	Dwellings
Albemarle	7,862	7,456
Amherst	3,696	3,564
Arlington	3,417	3,307
Augusta	9,393	9,081
Rockingham	7,678	7,482
Wise	9,279	9,056

The number of families per dwelling is 1.05 for Albemarle, 1.03 for Amherst, 1.03 for Arlington, 1.03 for Augusta, 1.02 for Rockingham, and 1.02 for Wise. Using the number of persons per dwelling as a basis there are 4.8 persons per dwelling in Albemarle, 5.3 for Amherst, 4.6 for Arlington, 4.8 for Augusta, 4.6 for Rockingham, and 5.0 for Wise County. The above figures would indicate that there is a fraction more than one family and nearly five persons to a dwelling. It is of interest to note that the number of persons per dwelling as well as the number of children per family is greatest in Amherst County where the value of land per acre is the lowest.

The distribution of home ownership is generally regarded as important evidence of the economic status of the population. According

14. Gee, Wilson and Corson, John J., 3rd, *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 1927, p. 118.
15. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920.

to the Federal Census, statistics of tenancy for the six counties since 1900, are shown in table 6.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF ALL FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS[16]

County	1925	1920	1910	1900
Albemarle	15.1	14.7	14.9	22.4
Amherst	31.0	35.4	33.9	43.3
Arlington	22.4	30.4	18.8	29.8
Augusta	14.0	15.3	12.5	16.4
Rockingham	12.0	14.6	12.6	12.0
Wise	25.2	24.9	25.9	29.9

With the exception of Rockingham all the counties show a decline in tenancy from 1900 to 1925. Wise County has the same percentage of tenancy as the State, namely 25.2 per cent and ranks 31st; Amherst County has 31.0 per cent and ranks 21st; Arlington, Albemarle, Augusta, and Rockingham rank 41st, 59th, 67th and 78th respectively.[17] Sometimes tenancy is a step toward ownership but as a rule it is a sign of the development of a group of people who, through lack of ability or opportunity are forced to remain at a relatively low social and economic level in comparison with that of the owners of the soil. A high percentage of tenancy is likely to be in the direction of a large proportion of relatively incompetent people who are not capable of getting the land into their possession, and who tend to be careless in their methods of cultivation.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The type of industry prevalent in a community has a relationship to the opportunity for employment and to the development of its well-being. With the exception of Arlington, the counties are largely dependent upon agriculture. A survey, however, of the industrial situation in the counties shows that manufacturing has come to occupy an ever enlarging place in the total life of these counties. Table 7 presents the essential facts concerning industrial activities.

The increases in salaries and wages, cost of material, and value added by manufacture as over against 1880 show a decided growth in manufacturing activities. For example, the number of establish-

16. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1925, 1920, 1910, 1900.
17. Gee, Wilson and Corson, John J., 3rd, *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 1927, p. 185.

TABLE 7

MANUFACTURES IN THE SIX COUNTIES, 1920 [18]

County	Number of establishments	Average number employed	Wages paid	Cost of material	Value added by manufacture
Albemarle	99	788	$ 831,219	$ 2,250,781	$ 1,575,137
Amherst	31	285	183,364	740,279	647,590
Arlington	55	4,683	6,155,091	16,690,857	10,947,836
Augusta	170	1,895	1,488,380	7,572,714	4,347,389
Rockingham	151	870	650,564	6,898,166	1,973,138
Wise	62	1,623	1,873,082	6,117,655	3,514,509

ments in Wise County increased from 19 in 1900 to 62 in 1920. Similar increases obtain in the other counties.

A study of the products manufactured in 1880, as listed in the United States census of that year, is interesting, since it shows how manufacturing began as a necessary complement of agriculture.

The lists are presented, separately, for Augusta and Rockingham counties.

Augusta	*Rockingham*
Carriages and wagons	Agricultural implements
Flour and grist-mill products	Fertilizers
Foundry and machine-shop products	Flouring and grist-mill products
Tanned leather	Lumber
Distilled liquor	Tanned leather
Lumber	
Sash, doors, and blinds	
Windmills	
Woolen mills	

In these lists we have a picture of the farmer clearing land, buying farm machinery, raising wheat to sell to the local miller, keeping livestock to provide for himself and his neighbors, and sending the hides to the tannery. While most of the industrial effort is devoted to working up basic materials, manufacturing has become diversified as is shown in the lists of products as given by the United States Census for 1920 for Augusta and Rockingham counties which are as follows:

18. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920.

Augusta	*Rockingham*[19]
Artificial flowers	Auto tops and curtains
Tanning extracts	Barrel staves
Stoves and ranges	Books and job printing
Electric current	Building brick
Fertilizer	Butter and cheese
Lime products	Children's clothes
Coca Cola	Cigars
Plow handles	Commercial chick hatching
Cement	Electric power
Overalls	Fertilizers
Coke	Foundry products
Water gas	Ice and ice cream
Pennants	Incubators and brooders
Spray spreaders	Leather products
Bricks	Tanned products
Tombstones	Sole leather
Textiles	Harness
	Leather novelties
	Lime
	Lumber
	Marble and limestone
	Newspapers
	Plows and cultivators
	Poultry coops
	Shirt stitching
	Silk processes
	Soft drink
	Toilet bowls
	Tombstones

In these items we have a picture of the advance of industrial society in these counties. What is true of these two counties is equally true of the other four. Indeed for Wise and Arlington counties the changes have been even more marked.

Composition of Population

The composition of the population of a community from the standpoint of nativity, age distribution, and color plays an important part

19. Peters, J. S., and Stinespring, W. F., *An Economic and Social Survey of Rockingham County*, 1924, p. 41.

in the welfare problems of the community. For this reason it is desirable to study the composition of the population of each of the six counties.

The counties included in the study and their total population—white and colored—from 1850 to 1920, respectively, are as given in table 8.

TABLE 8

POPULATION BY DECADES FROM 1850-1920 [20]

	Albemarle	Amherst	Arlington	Augusta	Rockingham	Wise
1850	25,800	12,699	.....	24,610	20,294	.....
1860	26,625	13,742	.....	27,749	23,408	4,508
1870	27,544	14,900	.....	28,753	23,668	4,785
1880	32,618	18,709	.....	35,710	29,567	7,772
1890	32,379	17,551	4,258	37,005	31,299	9,345
1900	34,922	17,864	6,430	39,659	33,527	19,653
1910	36,636	18,932	10,231	43,049	34,903	34,162
1920	36,693	19,771	16,040	45,294	35,922	46,500

It will be observed that those counties which showed the most rapid growth in population during this period were Wise and Arlington. This is especially true for Arlington if the 1927 estimated population of 30,000 is taken. Wise County obtained its impetus primarily through the development of mining in the county, and Arlington because of its proximity to the Nation's Capital. The gains in per cent by counties from 1850 to 1920 are Albemarle 42, Amherst 55, Augusta 84, and Rockingham 77.

The relation of rural and urban[21] population as given in table 9 shows some interesting changes taking place.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION [22]

	1900		1910		1920	
County	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Albemarle	81.5	18.5	81.5	18.5	70.9	29.1
Amherst	100.0	.....	100.0	.....	100.0	.....
Arlington	.....	.....	100.0	.....	100.0	.....
Augusta	81.6	18.4	75.4	24.6	76.5	23.5
Rockingham	89.5	10.5	86.0	14.0	83.6	16.4
Wise	100.0	.....	92.4	7.6	86.9	13.1

20. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1850-1920.
21. For definition of rural and urban, see footnote on page 2.
22. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1900, 1920.

Amherst and Arlington [23] counties have no urban population. It should be said, however that Arlington County is urban in all but name. Wise County has nearly doubled its city and town population during the last decade. Increases in urban population have been registered in the other counties. Indeed, the increase in population in the counties has come primarily from the growth in the population of the towns and cities.

It is recognized that the prevalence of a large Negro and foreign population in any community complicates its welfare problems. For that reason it is of particular interest to examine the six counties in order to determine specifically the proportion of Negro and foreign-born white in the total population.

TABLE 10

POPULATION BY RACE, 1920 [24]

County	Native-born White	Foreign-born White	Negro
Albemarle	70.5	0.8	28.7
Amherst	63.4	0.5	34.6
Arlington	68.9	5.2	25.9
Augusta	83.2	0.5	16.3
Rockingham	93.0	0.3	6.7
Wise	90.1	1.7	8.2

An analysis of this table indicates that the foreign-born whites play a small part in the total population of the respective counties. Arlington has the highest rate, 5.2 per cent. The Negroes make up from 6.7 per cent in Rockingham County to 34.6 per cent in Amherst of the population of the six counties. The per cent of Negroes in the total population in Virginia in 1920 was 29.9. The census record indicates that the Negro percentage is decreasing in these counties as it is in the State as a whole. In interpreting the material one can assume that only two racial groups need to be taken into consideration. Both are American born.

It is usually held that the age-grouping of the population has something to do with the character of the people. Thus a large percentage of young in a community give it vigor and initiative. A large number of elderly people presumably would increase the necessity for old age care. Table 11 gives the population by age-group.

23. In no instance, except in the discussion of density of population, has the city of Alexandria been considered as a part of Arlington County.
24. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUP, 1920 [25]

Age group	Virginia	Albemarle	Amherst	Arlington	Augusta	Rockingham	Wise
Under 7 years	16.98	16.00	18.60	15.34	15.68	17.06	22.19
7 to 13 years	16.56	17.08	19.45	13.75	15.78	16.32	18.50
14 to 15 years	4.23	4.53	4.85	3.29	4.19	4.13	4.22
16 to 17 years	4.09	4.19	4.18	3.01	4.06	4.23	3.92
18 to 20 years	5.87	5.35	5.71	5.72	5.23	5.37	5.81
21 to 44 years	33.65	30.62	28.95	34.05	33.85	30.58	32.02
45 years and over	18.62	22.23	18.26	24.84	21.21	22.31	13.34

Wise and Amherst counties have the larger per cent of their population 13 years of age and younger, and a smaller per cent of those 45 years of age and over than the other counties. In one case the population is growing rapidly, while in the other county the reverse is true. Amherst has a smaller per cent of its population in the age group 21 to 44 than any of the other counties. Arlington leads in this age-group with 34.05 per cent, followed by Augusta with 33.85 per cent, and Wise with 32.02 per cent.

The data as to the distribution of males and females in the six counties is given in table 12.

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY SEX, 1920 [26]

County	Male	Female
Albemarle	18,056	18,637
Amherst	10,011	9,760
Arlington	8,429	7,611
Augusta	21,979	23,315
Rockingham	17,502	18,420
Wise	28,281	22,219

In Albemarle, Augusta, and Rockingham counties the females outnumber the males. The larger number of males in Wise County may be accounted for on the basis of mining which draws a large number of men. In Arlington County it may be due to the rapid increase of population. No reason can be assigned for the situation in Amherst County except that as a rule there are more men in rural areas than women.

25. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920.
26. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920.

Illiteracy

The Census Bureau classifies as illiterate any person ten years of age or over who is unable to write his or her name in any language regardless of ability to read. This definition includes only those who are totally illiterate and does not indicate the large number who are "near" illiterate. The percentage of illiterates, ten years of age and over is given in table 13.

TABLE 13

Percentage of Illiterates in the Population [27]

Decade	Virginia	Albemarle	Amherst	Arlington	Augusta	Rockingham	Wise
1910	15.2	14.1	20.4	6.3	8.2	9.9	17.5
1920	11.2	8.2	16.3	3.8	7.4	7.2	12.9

Decided decreases have taken place in the rate of illiteracy in Virginia and in these counties during the decade ending with 1920. With the exception of Amherst and Wise these counties have a lower illiteracy rate than the State. Excluding the cities in the counties they rank as follows as to illiteracy: Albemarle 78th, Amherst 24th, Arlington 100th, Augusta 85th, Rockingham 88th, and Wise 48th.[28]

A county index of the school system has been devised by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction based on five financial and five educational factors. The index gives a measure of the financial income and the educational output of each county and is of interest in relation to the rank of the counties in illiteracy. The educational index [29] together with the rank for the six counties is as follows: Albemarle 65.32, Amherst 67.40, Arlington 97.90, Augusta 74.27, Rockingham 67.43, and Wise 72.24. The rank of each county on the educational index is 39th, 65th, 2nd, 11th, 31st and 19th respectively.

While it is true that the presence of Negroes affects the problem of illiteracy, the fact remains that a large group of whites in the population are unable to participate intelligently in the affairs of the community. Representative government and participation in its affairs are in considerable measure dependent upon the education of its people. Illiteracy creates a problem worthy of the most serious consideration by the mere fact of the existence of illiterates. Ignorance is a retard-

27. U. S. Bureau of Census, 1910, 1920.
28. Gee, Wilson and Corson, John J., 3rd, *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 1927, p. 138.
29. Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1926-1927.

ing factor in the affairs of any county, and possesses potentialities that constitute elements of danger. The bearing of the problem of illiteracy upon welfare problems is indicated by the number of illiterates who come to the attention of the welfare agencies. A study of welfare records impresses one with the fact that the illiterate is the victim of circumstances due to his inability to use material and control situations easily comprehended by his "educated" friends. There is good evidence that the illiterate furnish an undue proportion of the delinquent and dependent persons.

From the material in this chapter one can say that the counties of Virginia are in transition; they are passing from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Virginia has again become a state of opportunity rather than of advanced development. In the productiveness of its soil, its location with respect to major raw material of industry and to staple foodstuffs, and its port facilities lay the promise of Virginia's industrial growth. The individual county should be studied in relation to the expanding industrial opportunities of the State.

CHAPTER III

Organization and Personnel of Welfare Agencies

Organization of Welfare Agencies

THE recent rapid development of organized county welfare activities throughout the country is chiefly the result of the emphasis that has been given during the past two decades to the problems of the rural and small town communities. The growth of cities and the consequent necessity of developing methods of dealing with the socially inadequate found a conterpart of neglect in the county. It is true that here and there community and county experiments were being carried on in rural areas.[1] These scattered efforts paved the way for the development of welfare activities on a statewide basis which sought to reach rural populations through county units. Notable work has been done in the field of health in this respect and character-building, recreational, and educational agencies have instituted county-wide programs as seen in the efforts of the Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A., the Boy Scouts, and kindred organizations.

The organization of welfare agencies—public and private—in the six counties studied in Virginia varies extensively due to (a) the undeveloped nature of public and private welfare agencies; (b) the difference in the need and the development of organizations to meet the necessary welfare activities; (c) the interest of the individuals responsible for organizing the welfare services. When public and private welfare organizations are adequate to perform the essential work for which they are created, variety in detail of organizations is natural and desirable. The variety in Virginia, however, grows out of the newness and undeveloped nature of the undertakings.

In Virginia prior to June, 1922, when the 1922 Acts of the Assembly became effective, there was no legislation for doing public welfare work on a county-wide basis. Loudoun and Augusta counties had probation officers on salaries; several other counties had volunteer welfare workers; and one county had a well-developed child welfare program; but these efforts had no official connection with a State department.

In the matter of handling the small army of dependent, delin-

1. In Virginia as early as 1916 one county began a child welfare program which later formed the basis for the State's county public welfare program.

quent and neglected children, and the many cases of a social nature that could not be properly dealt with in the courts, the State Board of Charities and Corrections which was organized in 1908 had to depend on its own inadequate staff, for the constabulary of the criminal courts were both too busy and unsuited for this type of work. It had been apparent for years that the practice of trying to reduce delinquency and dependency only by dealing with the finished product was unscientific and inefficient. Each year the numbers and cost mounted; hundreds of children who should have been kept in the counties were passed on to the State, the local authorities washing their hands of the responsibility by magistrate's commitments. Many cases, purely social in their nature, were badly adjusted because of the delays and difficulties in the administration of circuit courts. No effective work along preventive and remedial lines was possible for lack of county and city welfare organizations. The law of 1922 endeavors to establish a new system, preventive and remedial in character.

County Public Welfare Legislation and Organization

In 1922, following the recommendations of the Children's Code Commission of Virginia, the legislature enacted a body of new public welfare laws, the central administrative agency for which was the reorganized State Board of Charities and Corrections called the Virginia State Board of Public Welfare.[2] In order to extend the work of the State Board into the counties, provisions were made for county and city boards of public welfare. The law is as follows:

"The circuit court of each county of the State, or the judge thereof in vacation, shall, and the corporation or hustings court, or the judge thereof in vacation, of each city of the first class, may appoint, from a list of eligibles submitted by the State Department of Public Welfare, a county or city board of public welfare consisting of not less than three, nor more than seven, members, preferably the latter number. The first appointments under this section, except in cities of the first class, shall be made not later than two years from the date of the passage of this act. Each member of a county or city board of public welfare shall be a resident of the county or city for which the particular board is appointed, and the terms of the members of each board shall be so arranged that one or more (but not all) shall expire annually. No appointments shall be made for a term longer than four years. Upon the expiration of the term of a member, his successor shall be appointed, upon the recommendation of the State Department of Public Welfare, for a term of four years. Any member of a county or city board may be removed at any time for cause

2. The 1928 legislation substituted the term "department" for "board."

by the State Department of Public Welfare, by and with the approval, entered of record, of the court or judge making the appointment. But this section is subject to the following qualification: In cities of the first class having departments of public welfare, or like departments, at the passage of this act, city boards of welfare shall not be appointed; but the councils or other governing bodies of such cities, shall, by ordinance, apportion the powers and duties by this act conferred and imposed upon county and city boards and superintendents of public welfare among the officers or departments of the particular city government, in such manner as they may deem wise. For the purposes of this act, cities of the second class shall in all respects be deemed to be parts of the counties in which the same are situated, and residents of any such city shall, for the purposes of this act, be deemed to be residents of the county in which the city is situated." [3]

The duties of these county boards and city boards are to inspect all institutions of a charitable or penal nature within the county or city; to interest themselves in all matters pertaining to the social welfare of the people of the county or city; to direct the activities of the superintendent of public welfare where there is one; and to cooperate with the juvenile and domestic relations court and all other agencies operating for the social betterment of the county or city. These functions now assumed by the county board of public welfare were formerly left to the haphazard care of those charitably inclined who carried on some of the necessary welfare work individually or in voluntary organizations.

The general idea underlying the county unit of public welfare is that relief and prevention should be united. The county is the natural unit, not only for public relief but for child welfare, the juvenile and domestic relations court, the oversight of the delinquent through probation and parole, and the activities of the character-building, educational, and recreational organizations. The fact cannot be stressed too strongly that the County Board of Public Welfare has wide latitude. It is capable of the utmost expansion to fit the needs of counties, and can be enlarged as a county becomes educated in public welfare endeavor and is willing to provide increasing support. The county superintendent of public welfare and the juvenile and domestic relations court judge form the nucleus of a staff which may be increased as the needs of the county are recognized and support is granted. These officials are put to a great test in developing public welfare work. Some counties advance more rapidly than others be-

3. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia*, 1926, pp. 13-14.

cause of the greater skill of superintendents and judges, or the presence of individual citizens who are able to develop resources in the county.

Governmental effort in the field of welfare activity has directed much thought to the most effective method of securing a proper centralization of authority without destroying the principle of local autonomy. On this point Kelso says, "The system now in operation decentralizes the administration of public poor relief by leaving it to the smallest unit of government, the town; and centralizes the development of the right method—the social program—in the State government. This, then, is the answer: centralized policy; decentralized administration." [4]

The relationship of a State department of public welfare to county welfare organization has been stated as follows: "In its relationship to local groups, it is the function of the State department to stimulate, cooperate, and coordinate rather than to interfere or attempt to direct arbitrarily. Plans of organization drawn up in an office remote from the scene of action and superimposed by a State authority upon any community are predestined for the scrap basket, or at best, for short-lived usefulness. The permanently successful organization is indigenous to the community. Though it develops slowly at first, it will continue to grow so long as there is need enough in the community to give it root hold.

"The function of central bodies, such as the State Department of institutions and agencies represents, is not to govern by reason of superior authority, but to stimulate and strengthen local endeavors and so to plan its own program of social welfare that the work of the State will be the natural complement of that which is accomplished by the communities." [5]

Approaching the problem of the relationship of the State department to the county welfare organization from the point of view of the county, the interdependence has been formulated by Geraldine L. Thompson as follows:

"As I see our work, we try to support and strengthen all social agencies, services, institutions . . . on a county basis, and also do what we can to build up local community service so that every part of the county may be brought into the picture and profit by our effort. We reach out to the State for those services which it is their function

4. Kelso, Robert W., *History of Poor Relief in Massachusetts*, 1922, p. 191.
5. County Organization for Child Care and Protection, Children's Bureau Publication No. 107, 1922, p. 88.

to contribute to the needs of the community; we also look to them for the supervision and direction which they are prepared to give, and which the people . . . through legislation and appropriation have assigned to them as a part of State administrative responsibility." [6]

The State Department of Public Welfare is primarily concerned with the administration of State laws. In order, however, to prevent the State from becoming overloaded with duties and details, it must work largely through the existing agencies in the local communities. Since the county is the unit of local government in the State, the working out of State programs may best be accomplished through this unit. In order to crystallize the potentialities of the counties and local communities the State Department of Public Welfare promotes the formation of county boards of public welfare. Experience in other states has shown that such boards do much to prevent duplication of effort and to arouse interest. They lead to a common understanding of community resources and responsibilities and a fine spirit of cooperation in service for the common good.

A policy of coordinated service and activity between State and county means growth, both in the State and the county. On one side there is a reaching up to the State for leadership and direction and on the other side there is a looking down to the local community for support and interest. Welfare programs that are built on the interest, service, and support of the State, the county, and the local community jointly, are stronger than any one of these units could build alone. Each of these partners shares in a joint program to which they can make definite, distinct, and necessary contributions of service and money. Opportunity is given to the county to develop and direct its own service supervised by the State. Local responsibility and widespread knowledge go hand in hand, and wherever sound foundations are built in small communities permanent results will be attained throughout the county for the larger State program.

Local boards are in close contact with the problems and needs of their respective communities. They can deal with cases quickly, can establish close coöperation with public officials and private agencies, and are sensitive to local public opinion, which is of the utmost importance in establishing proper standards of work and in educating the community to these standards.

The policy of emphasizing local responsibility is sound in the working out of a business-like financial system for the State organization.

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6. Monmouth County Organization for Social Service Report, 1924-25, p. 7.

The aim should be to make every geographical unit self-supporting as completely as possible for those welfare services for which the local community should be responsible. There may be some undeveloped sections whose needs apparently far outstrip their ability or willingness to care for welfare problems, a few persons sufficiently socially minded to appreciate the facts, however, can do much to create the necessary welfare agencies. Any community once it becomes interested, for example in the care of children, will go far in securing the necessary provisions for them. This interest comes through demonstration of the value of such work.

Superintendent of Public Welfare

When the County Board of Public Welfare "may deem it advisable and expedient" they are authorized by law to elect from a list of eligibles submitted by the State Department of Public Welfare a superintendent of public welfare—to serve as the executive officer of the board—and such assistants as are deemed necessary. The duties of the superintendent of public welfare cover a wide range of activities as will be seen from a statement of the law.

"Each county and city superintendent of public welfare shall be the executive officer of the board appointing him. Before entering upon the discharge of his duties, every such superintendent shall take the usual oaths of office before the court which appointed his board, or the judge thereof in vacation, and shall also enter into bonds, with surety to be approved by the court or judge, in such sum as the court or judge may fix, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties. Every such superintendent is hereby vested with the powers of a police officer or constable. Under the supervision, control and direction of such local board, and in coöperation with other public and private agencies, he shall have power, and it shall be his duty:

(a) To have the care and supervision of the poor and to administer the funds now administered by the overseers of the poor.

(b) To administer mothers' aid funds, if any, in accordance with the provisions of State law.

(c) Under direction of the State Board of Public Welfare, to look after and supervise the conditions of persons paroled from hospitals for the insane and colonies for the epileptic and feeble-minded, and from other State institutions.

(d) To act as the agent of the State board in relation to any work to be done by said board within the county or city.

(e) To have oversight of persons in the county or city released on probation or on parole from the penitentiary, reformatories, industrial schools and all paroled prisoners in the county or city.

(f) Under direction of the State board, to have supervision of dependent children placed in the county or city by the State board.

(g) To assist the State board in finding employment for the unemployed.

(h) To investigate the causes of distress, under the direction of the State board, and to make such other investigations as the State board may direct.

(i) To act as chief probation officer for the county or city and, as such, to enforce and administer the probation laws within the county or city.

(j) To foster coöperation and intelligent division of work between all public and private charitable and social agencies in the county or city to the end that public resources and charitable donations may be conserved and the needs of the county or city be adequately cared for." [7]

With the wide range of duties placed upon the Superintendent of Public Welfare it is apparent that intensive work cannot be done. The county feels an obligation to supply such needs as food and clothing. But success in caring for needy families cannot and should not be measured in terms of material relief, but in the extent to which independence of action is fostered and ability to adjust and handle the situation is secured by the family. Such work requires thorough understanding of each situation, knowledge of the social resources of the community and a background of experience against which an individual situation may be seen in relationship to all other factors in the case. In the best family welfare societies 40 or 50 families are regarded as the greatest number that any one worker can serve efficiently. While many cases coming to the superintendent involve only an office interview or some minor service, and while considerable volunteer service is given, the fact remains that the superintendents of public welfare carry a much larger load than is regarded as desirable. With this load it is impossible to do the constructive work of creating independence and self-reliance in the family. Few, if any, families can be given intensive care.

Evolution of a County Public Welfare Unit

Some of the immediate factors in the developments which led to the organization of a county board of public welfare in Albemarle County are briefly sketched. With the entrance of America into the World War, The National Red Cross organized the Albemarle County Red Cross Chapter in August, 1917. The local community was aroused

7. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia*, 1926, pp. 15-16.

and a great many women gave their services in making surgical dressings and in knitting garments for the soldiers. Classes were conducted in First Aid, in Home Nursing, and in Care of the Sick.

Early in the work of the Chapter it was evident that there was need of civilian relief. While excellent work was done for the families of the men in the service, help could not be given to civilians by the chapter. In the fall of 1918 the influenza epidemic made terrific inroads in the community and Red Cross funds were used to meet the expenses incurred.

At the close of the War over $10,000 was left in the treasury of the local Red Cross Chapter. The question arose as to what should be done with this money. It was finally decided to send some of it to National Headquarters for the War Work Fund and to employ two Red Cross Nurses, furnishing them with cars and paying the expense of transportation. Shortly after this $4,000 was secured from the Rockefeller Institute, to be matched by the same amount from the county, for the establishment of a County Public Health Unit. Of the county's share for the first year, $3,000 came from the Red Cross Fund. With the decrease in funds of the Red Cross the county and city increased its contribution so that now the entire health program is financed out of county, city and university funds.

The Home Service work of the Red Cross was continued on a part time basis. During 1920 some of the students in the Summer School of the University of Virginia in a Red Cross Home Service class, did some social work in the community with the help of the Home Service Secretary. This service revealed the need of a well trained, full-time social worker for the city and county. While the county and city nurses did a certain amount of social work it was not their primary function. Early in 1922 it was decided to employ a full-time social service secretary for a period of three months, with the understanding that her services be continued after that time by the Red Cross if it should be financially possible, or by the Red Cross in connection with other agencies. A secretary was secured who, working in close coöperation with the county and city nurses and a corps of volunteers, did such a constructive piece of work with ex-service men and their families and civilian cases, securing employment, seeing that neglected children received care, coöperating with out-of-town agencies and the local churches and other agencies, that it was decided to continue the service of the secretary for another five months. The local work of the State Traveler's Aid Association was taken on by the secretary.

During July of that year (1922) some anonymous articles appeared

in the local paper advocating the formation of an Associated Charities. It was felt that all money given for charity should be kept in the community; that under Red Cross management there was danger of too much being paid in salaries; that a local organization could carry on with practically no overhead charges; and that service and money would be contributed. At a meeting of the local chapter it was decided to carry on the present program of the Red Cross until some other agency was established to carry on a social service program.

In January 1923, the Young Men's Business Club called a meeting to consider the organization of an Associated Charities. A committee from the Red Cross attended the meeting to say that if an Associated Charities was formed, the Red Cross would release its present program to that organization, but until such an organization should be formed it would continue its present work and would also work towards bringing about a union of the local chapter with a County Board of Public Welfare which could be appointed. The Associated Charities was not formed, but the funds of the Red Cross Chapter were exhausted. It was decided to discontinue the service of the secretary and do only such work for the ex-service men and their families as could be done by a part-time worker. When this decision became public it was felt by those interested in the work that for the Red Cross to give up its social service work and for the county to lose the service of its competent secretary would be an irremediable loss. Funds were secured and the work continued. A committee was appointed to confer with the Judge of the Corporation Court and the Judge of the Circuit Court relative to the appointment of City and County Boards of Public Welfare. A study of the Red Cross records was made and a chart prepared showing how many of the duties now being performed by the Red Cross secretary would devolve upon the City and County Boards of Public Welfare. At the meeting of the County Board of Public Welfare for organization on May 7th, 1923, the results of this study were presented to that body. It was decided, first, that it would be quite impossible to function in the duties assigned to it by law without the full-time service of a worker; second, that the work of the Red Cross social worker was exactly along the lines of the Public Welfare Board's duties; third, that it would be unfortunate for the County and City Boards of Public Welfare to lose the advantage already gained by the social service work of the Red Cross; fourth, that it would be highly desirable to secure the service of the Red Cross Social Service worker as Superintendent of Public Welfare for the City and County Boards of Public Welfare; fifth, that the county

could not finance this project separately and must seek a coöperative financial arrangement with the city and some other agency like the Red Cross.

A committee was appointed, which later asked the County Board of Supervisors to appropriate the $240.00 yearly, formerly used as salaries of the overseers of the poor, with $1.00 a day additional, making $600.00 in all towards the salary of the Superintendent of Public Welfare. The rest of the salary of $1,800.00 came from the Red Cross and the City Board of Public Welfare.

The meeting for organization of the City Board of Public Welfare was held on May 14th. The same material that had been presented to the County Board was presented to the City Board. It was decided to hold a joint meeting with the County Board to determine the feasibility of employing a joint County and City Superintendent of Public Welfare. On May 22nd the joint meeting was held and a decision reached to employ a joint superintendent who would act also as Secretary of the Red Cross. The Red Cross secretary was selected as the Superintendent of Public Welfare.

Since the establishment of the joint Boards of Public Welfare, the work of the Red Cross has been carried on in connection with these boards as has the travelers' aid work. The pioneering social service work of the Red Cross has resulted in firmly establishing public welfare as part of Albemarle County government.

A Community Welfare Program.

A question of importance to the county is the ability of the local community to tie up all phases of its welfare activities into a unified program. Some executives of private agencies consider the public department as less capable of handling the delicate problems of human interrelationships as effectively as the private agency. Some public officials believe that the proper instrument for work is the public department and that existing private agencies are a survival of an outgrown age. Whatever the theory and practice of the national and the state agencies, the local community should not be made the victim of any struggle for power or prestige. The local community is interested in knitting the welfare programs of the public and private agencies into a coherent and efficient system of welfare service, embracing relief, character-building and correction.

The welfare field is indivisible in the nature of services needed. The complexity of social contacts and relationships of the individual need much the same solution regardless of the agency administering the

service. Further, the community takes precedence over the particular agency. The integrity of the community should always be kept in mind in thinking of the relative place of the public and private agency and the relation of national and state agencies to county and community organization. The point of view should be from the standpoint of human needs rather than from that of agencies.

The national agencies and the State departments in their efforts to promote programs have imparted new ideas and practices believed to be good for town and country life. If these agencies acting independently make frequent contacts with the same communities, competition is likely to arise for the leadership in the community, serious conflicts may result which subordinates the welfare and interest of the local community to that of the national and state agencies. The crux of the problem lies in the means of securing on the part of the local community the standards believed necessary by national agencies and State departments. It means carrying the process to the point where the county becomes accustomed to organized partnership with the national agencies and the State departments until it comes to regard such work as a recognized and permanent part of its own community life. What has happened in the local community in the process of integration of national and State departments' standards is a difficult problem to describe. It is undoubtedly true that the local community has adapted and given local color to national and State standards.

Welfare Work Recent in Origin

Outside of the overseers and the superintendents of the poor, the earliest agency in the six counties studied, was organized in 1914. Some of the agencies as the King's Daughters Circles and Women's Clubs were started previous to this, but did not have paid executives. Superintendents of public welfare and judges of juvenile and domestic relations court were provided for in the legislation of 1922. The Red Cross came in with the World War. County health departments were organized in 1919 in three of the counties, and nurses came in with these. Boy Scouts under paid leaders began in 1927, as did Girl Reserves. Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls have not yet been organized under paid leadership. The Salvation Army began less than ten years ago. One of the Y. M. C. A.'s was organized in 1915, one preceding that date and one following. The Y. W. C. A. began in 1927. The fact that the work of the welfare agencies is for the most part less than ten years old suggests the obvious fact that the work is not only an unfinished product, but that standards have not yet been fully developed.

This welfare work has not developed in the most typically rural counties. While the counties are regarded as rural, they have sizable centers of population. It is natural and perhaps inevitable to start with counties in which there are towns and cities for centers exist from which to start. The basic assumption of welfare work has been that it should have local support and personnel. Larger places naturally have the greater initiative and capacity to do things for themselves, and are more likely to be willing to undertake them. It should be said that welfare activities have had their technique developed and tested in urban centers. For the most part welfare administrators have not set before their eyes a mental picture of rural welfare activity as a goal of their efforts to be sought by strong and consistent promotional policies. Rural welfare policies have been fitted into an urban-determined technique.

Personnel of Welfare Agencies

The foundation for effective welfare work in any community is the employment of trained and capable workers. Specific information is given in the following pages concerning the employment of welfare workers in the six counties and their relations to national agencies and State Departments.

In the theory of territorial organization as defined in the manuals of the national agencies and State departments, there is assumed to be a definite localized unit with officials discharging certain functions. The local organization is related to the national agency and the State department in definite ways. These national and State agencies need territorial executives to function properly. They try to secure and make available properly trained persons for these positions.

Most of the local agencies do not function when without an executive. The executive is more often a locally paid supervisor of a national agency or State organization who perpetuates, extends, directs, and standardizes the work of the agency within his territory, and secures its financial support.

If we think of the public welfare worker as discovering the causes of social ills and as visualizing the society that is to be, and devising the constructive measures necessary to bring it about, then his training must rest upon knowledge of the natural and social sciences. The idea of the interdependence of all factors of life, the desirability of controlling the conditions of life, the building of techniques and funds of information and general principles are indispensable to a well rounded approach to the welfare field. Beyond these direct contribu-

tions to public welfare there are indirect contributions—not the least of which is the insistence that the public welfare worker must be imbued with the scientific spirit. Facts must be faced as they are, a critical, as well as sympathetic, attitude toward the problems with which he is working must be maintained. Any procedure which adds accuracy, impartiality, and objectivity to the processes of work and thinking makes for scientific spirit and method.

The objectives of welfare workers public or private may be stated as the discovery of practicable social means of minimizing undesirable social conditions and for maximizing desirable social conditions. Through direct attack upon welfare problems will there be achieved valid abstractions and generalizations. Public and private welfare to make progress and develop must have recourse to methods which offer the precision, objectivity, and universality of experimental methods.

Training of Welfare Workers

The problems of training as discussed in table 14 refers to technical instruction in the particular job the person is doing.

TABLE 14

THE TRAINING OF COUNTY WELFARE WORKERS—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Type of Worker	Training	No Training	Total
Superintendent of Public Welfare	1	3	4
Probation Officer	....	1	1
Overseers of the Poor	....	11	11
Red Cross Secretary	....	5	5
Superintendent of Poor	....	8	8
Juvenile Court Judge	....	7	7
Health Officer	4	....	4
Nurses	8	5	13
Salvation Army	....	4	4
Boy Scouts	2	....	2
Y. M. C. A.	3	....	3
Y. W. C. A.	1	....	1
	19	44	63

The welfare workers as measured by standards set forth by national and state agencies are relatively untrained though health officers and nurses are better in this regard than are other welfare workers. Less than a third of the welfare workers had some technical training of an academic sort for the particular job they hold, yet much of the

work would not be done if it were not for these generous-hearted, untrained people who see the need for such work and try to meet the situation. It should be said that the men and women in welfare work in these counties find their work difficult because of its experimental and unstandardized character. They are compelled to work out standards and principles applicable to the local situation without a great deal of help from outside sources.

A picture of welfare workers in the counties would reveal persons rendering a variety of services. A welfare worker is usually the only one doing his particular type of work in the county, and is very much tied up with the financing, this is especially true of the private agency, of the organization with which he works. There are so few agencies through which to carry on his program that he must take his clients through all the stages of their treatment. Because of the diversity of service the welfare worker is compelled to carry a heavy case load; none of the superintendents of public welfare carry less than 200 cases, some over 400. He must give much attention to his relationship to other organizations. Rural people have come to have greater expectancy of receiving money or material relief than have the needy in the city just because of the practice of rural agencies and because of a lack of agencies.

The rural worker must work with and through groups rather than with individuals, if he is to affect the welfare situation of the county. A lone county worker cannot reach every community and neighborhood every time there may be a call. A county welfare worker has a large territory to cover, with long trips to make over none-too-good roads. Volunteers are needed in welfare activities to supplement the work of the professional worker in order to give stability and public confidence, to hold the work always free from possible officialism, by keeping the layman's point of view and interest always in mind.

As the State takes over more functions for which people pay taxes it becomes necessary to inaugurate some social program to socialize people. By making labor mechanical, much of the leisure time activities have been commercialized. Releasing people however from the obligation of private welfare service and making it possible for them to secure more leisure time, has not decreased their desire or willingness to help the needy. People like to do things and to realize that they are a part of a real program for public welfare. Evidence of such a desire is given by the "service" clubs, such as Kiwanis, Rotary,

Lions, Business and Professional Women's Club, and kindred organizations.

Country people have been used to doing things for themselves. The rural welfare worker can well adopt the policy of helping the farmers to help themselves; farmers have a managerial psychology which the welfare worker will do well to capitalize.

Salary of Welfare Workers

Table 15 analyzes the salaries paid the welfare workers in the six counties.

TABLE 15

SALARY OF WELFARE WORKERS—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Superintendent of Public Welfare	
Albemarle	$1,800
Arlington	1,500
Wise	2,500
Overseer of the Poor (12)	each 20 to 40
Superintendent of the Poor (almshouse) (6)	400 and maintenance
Health Officer	
Albemarle (Part-time)	500
Arlington	4,000
Augusta	2,500
Wise	3,000
Nurses	
Albemarle (3) $1,800, 1,800, 1,440	5,040
Arlington (3) $1,800, 1,200, 1,500	5,100
Amherst	1,500
Augusta (3) $1,200, 1,500, 1,500	4,200
Rockingham	2,000
Wise (3) $1,800, 1,800, 1,500	5,100
Juvenile Court Judge	
Albemarle	Fees
Amherst	Fees
Arlington	800 and fees
Augusta	600 and fees
Rockingham	Fees
Wise	1,400 and fees
Probation officer	
Augusta	1,500
Boy Scout	
Augusta	2,400
Y. M. C. A.	
Albemarle	2,000
Augusta	2,400
Wise	2,000

Health officers receive the highest salaries, followed by the execu-

tives of the Boy Scouts and Y. M. C. A. As yet the judges of the juvenile and domestic relations court have not been placed on a sound salary basis. All of the judges are on a part-time basis. Several are on a fee basis. Only one county has a full-time paid probation officer. The superintendent of the poor is a constitutional officer whose salary is fixed at $400 per annum and maintenance. The overseers of the poor receive from $20 to $40 a year. The salaries of some of the workers are accounted good by the communities that pay them, but are low as measured by national standards.

The whole question of organization and personnel of county welfare agencies is intimately related to the transitions taking place in the State. With the development of a strong State Department of Public Welfare the question of welfare organization as a governmental function is being taken care of in a fairly satisfactory way. The most difficult problem is that of personnel. Trained persons are hard to secure for county positions; for the most part reliance must be placed upon an untrained personnel. The turnover of executives is so great that a continuity of program is hard to maintain. A vigorous educational program that would extend down into the local community might go a long way in creating the kind of social intelligence necessary to carry through an effective welfare program.

CHAPTER IV

Outdoor Poor Relief

Historical Background of Outdoor Relief

THE present poor relief laws of Virginia represent a slow evolution which may be traced back to Western Europe of the Middle Ages, through English law and practices, which arose out of the struggle to find a way to relieve distress and poverty. Originally all relief was considered a strictly private affair; a matter in which government did not concern itself, but successive periods of economic stress increased the number of tramps and beggars to such an extent as to endanger the existing social and political order. To avert national disaster and to suppress or regulate the dependents, the government was forced to assume an active part in poor relief. The local community practices that had been hammered out in an attempt to handle their own problems, formed the basis for national legislation. Through trial and error these precedents were tested and were rejected or retained according to the efficacy with which they had met the situations. To understand the attitude of the colonist of Virginia toward the problem of distress and relief one needs to know the industrial and political conditions of England—the conditions of labor and living among the English people during the period when she was testing out methods of relief. The Virginia colonist not only reflected the attitudes of English life, but carried over bodily customs and laws of the mother country.

At the end of the Middle Ages, England was a land of isolated towns and small farms. Changing market conditions drew tradesmen and craftsmen into the rapidly growing towns away from the small villages with gardens and more kindly neighbors. The invention of weaving machines threw many handweavers out of work. At the same time men who had tilled the soil, and found a competence therein for themselves and their families found themselves evicted from their lands and cottages by the nobility which wanted wide pastures for the hunt. Being thus deprived of a livelihood they were forced onto the highways. The old economic system presupposed adequate employment for all, but with these changes there was a surplus of laborers, men who were willing and able to work could find no employment, and yet the government dubbed the wanderer a ne'er-do-well and passed legislation to repress vagabondage by severe punishment.

During this period private charity was supplied chiefly through wealthy individuals, the church, labor guilds, and so-called hospitals. Individuals were urged to give for the good of their souls or the aggrandizement of the family name. Large sums were often left in wills for the foundation of hospitals and almshouses. By 1531 there were in England several hundred foundations of a religious nature. They played the chief part in the support of the "poor." Some maintained hospitals which ministered to the sick and provided care for the aged and indigent. These religious foundations maintained vast tracts of land under intensive cultivation. These monasteries gave to the poor doles indiscriminately, and fed and housed travelers. In 1531 the smaller religious foundations were closed and their lands confiscated by the Crown, and thereby a large number of erstwhile retainers found themselves without shelter and forced to the highway to find a living.

All this almsgiving had the effect of breeding dishonest mendicants and forcing poverty onto the attention and into the lives of Englishmen; the alarming growth of paupers and beggars aroused Elizabethan lawmakers. The Statute of Laborers in 1349 had sought to supply agricultural labor and suppress vagrancy by regulating the conduct of individuals. This statute and others which followed attempted to force those who were able to work, and beggars who could not work to remain at home. No account was taken of the helpless poor. In London from 1514 to 1524, to reduce the plague of vagrancy, able-bodied persons were forbidden to beg; others were licensed; citizens were forbidden to give alms to unlicensed beggars. It was found necessary to create a specific official—the overseer of the poor—so that public taxes might be raised and the poor properly looked after.

These principles were incorporated into laws in 1597 and slightly added to in 1601. The Act provided for the appointment yearly of overseers of the poor who were made responsible for the relief of distress. The overseers were to set the children of indigent persons to work, to see that all able-bodied poor worked, and to relieve the lame, impotent, old and blind, and they were to levy and collect taxes to carry on their work. Meetings of the overseers were held once a month and a penalty levied for absence without cause. The church wardens were to be ex-officio[1] members of the group responsible for the poor; in actual practice they administered the law.

1. Lowell, A. Lawrence, *The Government of England,* 1908, Vol. II, p. 131.

The principles or laws thus hammered into shape remained the law with little change for over two hundred years. The laws in their development represent a changing attitude toward the dependency problem. The first inclination was to repress poverty by legislation. That failing, poverty came to be recognized as a social problem; then as a responsibility of the government which was followed by public taxation. By the opening of the seventeenth century England had worked out many poor relief principles which we still retain: it had established the obligation of the State to the dependent individual; that the citizen who could not help himself should be helped by the community; that every citizen enjoying the advantages of the government should be obliged to contribute for the relief of those in distress. The system thus planned served to remedy results rather than to remove causes.

It should also be noted that measures in the development of the poor law in England were usually adopted and practiced by local communities (municipalities) decades before they were made into national laws. In the beginning funds for the relief of the poor came from voluntary gifts. In 1547 London devised a plan for collections for the poor which contained a definite element of compulsion. Failing sufficient contributions through the poor box on Sunday, it was decided that a general poor rate was necessary. Parliament in the years between 1547 and 1569 passed a series of statutes devoted mainly to methods of securing funds for the relief of the poor. Slowly was born the idea of relief supported by public taxation.

Experience having been the determiner and the controlling factor in the formation of these principles, it is not surprising that when English citizens migrated to America they brought with them those same ideas for relief of distress. History shows that they not only shaped customs in Virginia but determined methods to be used.

Early Virginia Legislation and Practice

The problem of caring for the poor in colonial Virginia was relatively simple. The indigent were taken care of in the homes of others or aided in their own homes through the vestry of the church. It was not until the latter part of the colonial period, when there was an increase in the number of the poor, that an attempt was made to provide workhouses as a means of caring for them and reducing the number of vagabonds.

The chief civil responsibility of the vestry was the laying of the

parish expenses and the care of the poor.[2] "It may be said that it was the churchwardens' duty to call attention to all cases of extreme poverty. The aged pauper was as much an object of their care as the most youthful orphan entirely lacking in means. The benevolence of wealthy citizens had, as we have seen, established in some parishes a fund for the maintenance of the helpless poor, but the number of parishes enjoying such a fund was necessarily small. The poor who were wholly without resources were almost everywhere directly dependent upon the vestry's aid, as extended through the churchwardens. As there was no such establishment in the parish as an almshouse, the pauper was supported at the parish's expense by boarding him at the home of some citizen willing to receive him for a sum agreed upon beforehand. Sometimes, the compensation assumed the form of an exemption from public and county levies; generally, however, a specific sum in tobacco was annually granted in the parish levy to anyone who, at any time during the previous twelve months, had taken care of a pauper. Very many instances of this kind are recorded. For example, in 1658, James Whiting, of York County, received a considerable amount from the vestry for his trouble and expense in looking after a 'poore woman' who had died in his house, where she had been living during nearly three weeks. Again in 1687, Hannah Moore, of Northampton, being entirely without means to afford her relief in distress, was placed in the home of Thomas Lucas, with whom the churchwardens of Hangar's parish had contracted for her comfortable support in return for an amount to be allowed at each levy." [3]

During the year the wardens extended aid to the poor in cases of emergency for which provision had not been made. Their duties were carefully defined as early as 1619 in the acts passed that year by the first assembly to convene in Virginia. In England the wardens with the overseers of the poor were the responsible poor law officials with power to levy a rate for the poor without vestry control, while in Virginia the wardens acted as representatives of the vestry. There were no overseers of the poor representing the county. The vestry books show that ordinarily the vestrymen were much interested in the welfare of the indigent poor, but occasionally toward the end of the Colonial period records like the following appear: "Ordered that the Churchwardens do let out the poor of this parish to the lowest

2. Henning, *Statutes at Large,* II, pp. 43-45, 1661-1662.
3. Bruce, Philip A., *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* Vol. I, 1910, pp. 87-88.

bidder." [4] On the whole the care given by the churchwardens was on a high plane. The number needing care was small in the colony. Opportunities for earning a livelihood were too numerous to allow the creation of a large class of paupers.

The Revolution brought the separation of Church and State and with it an Act of the Assembly in 1780 dissolving several vestries and setting up a body of overseers of the poor. The overseers were made a corporate body and the vestries were required to make settlement with the overseers of the poor funds. In 1785 the Assembly passed a general act doing away with vestry control of the poor in all counties of the Commonwealth. This statute constitutes the basis of the poor laws of the present day. While the act has been amended from time to time, the system which it set up is essentially the system of today. A great many statutes have been passed dealing with local matters of poor relief since the 1785 act, but little change has been made during the past century and a half. Marking the change from vestry to governmental control, and forming as it does the basis of the present laws on which much of the present welfare code is constructed, the statute is given in full.

I. "Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that the court of every county within this Commonwealth, at their session to be held in the month of March next after the passing of this act, shall cause the said county to be laid off into convenient districts, and shall direct the sheriff of their county to cause publication to be made, that on some convenient day to be appointed by the said court, an election will be held within each district, to consist of freeholders and housekeepers only, for the purpose of choosing three discreet, fit, and proper persons, being freeholders of and residents, within the same, who shall be called and denominated overseers of the poor, and shall continue and be in office for and during the term of three years; at the expiration whereof other triennial elections shall be made in manner hereinbefore directed; and the said court shall, at the same time, appoint some person in each district to superintend the election. And the overseers, upon notice to them respectively being given by the person appointed in their district to superintend the election, of their being elected, they, or majority of them shall meet together at some convenient place within their respective districts, between the first day of April, and the first day of August, in every year, and shall levy and assess upon the tithables within their said county (a copy of the list of which shall be furnished them by the clerk of the county) competent sums of money, or tobacco in lieu thereof at a stated price, to be paid at the option of the party chargeable therewith, for the necessary relief and support of all such poor, lame, impotent, blind, and other inhabitants of their said county as are not able to maintain themselves.

4. Bristol Parish Vestry Book, p. 182.

II. *And be it enacted,* That the overseers of the poor in each district, shall monthly make returns to the court of their county of the poor orphans in their district, and the said court is hereby authorized to direct the said overseers, or either of them, to bind out such poor orphans, apprentices to such person or persons as the court on due enquiry shall approve of, and the indentures of such apprentices shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the county, and not transferrable to any person whatsoever, without the approbation of the court. The said overseers shall, on or before the 10th day of August annually, make up in a book to be kept for that purpose, an exact account of the persons to and for whom such monies are to be paid, the purposes for which, and the particular sums, a transcript of which, they shall once in every year return to the court to be there entered of record; a copy of which they shall also, on or before the same day, deliver to the collector of public taxes, who is hereby authorized and required to collect the same, together with the list of persons chargeable with the poor rates, and of the sum each person is liable to pay; which collector shall give bond with good security to the court for faithful discharge of his duty herein, and shall have the same powers to collect the said poor rates, and have the same commission, and be subject to the same fines, forfeitures and prosecutions, as in the case of county levies. The said collector shall pay the money or tobacco, as the case may be, to the several persons or to their order, for whom it was levied, on or before the first day of October in every year; and in default thereof, it shall be lawful for the court of the county to render judgment for the same, with cost on complaint of the party, or on motion by the overseers: Provided that the collector has ten days previous notice of such motion.

III. *And be it further enacted,* That the same power and authority given to, and vested in a churchwarden, by an act, intitled "An act for the relief of parishes from such charges as arise from bastard children born within the same," passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, is hereby given to the several overseers of the poor respectively, who shall perform the same duties as by that act are required to be performed by a churchwarden. And the said overseers of the poor in each county, shall have power and authority to call on the late churchwardens in their counties or parishes, for a settlement of their parochial accounts, and shall receive any money in their hands belonging to the parish, heretofore levied for the support of the poor, to be applied to the debts contracted in support of the parish poor. And in case any churchwardens shall refuse to pay to the overseers of the poor in the county in which such churchwardens acted, the balance which shall appear to be in their hands on settlement being made, as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the county court to render judgment for the same, with costs on complaint of the said overseers of the poor, or their attorney; provided such churchwarden shall have ten days previous notice of such motion. And the court of every county within this commonwealth shall be, and they are hereby authorized and required, whereof public notice shall be previously given by the sheriff, to levy and assess upon the tithable persons in their

respective persons, all parish charges which shall have accrued since the last laying of the levy of the parishes within their respective counties, and before the first day of April next; and the collector of the public taxes shall collect and receive such levy, and pay the same to the person entitled thereto, shall have the same commission, and on refusal to pay, be liable to the same penalty and judgments as the collector of the poor rates is entitled and made liable to: And to prevent vagrants and others, not betaking themselves to honest occupations, becoming burdensome to the industrious and useful part of the community, it is necessary that the overseers in each district shall be, and they are hereby empowered to compel and put all such work, so long as such person or persons shall continue within their district and are likely to become chargeable to the county. And whereas, by the dissolution of the vestries, and abridging their future powers, no processioners of land can legally be appointed:

IV. *Be it enacted,* That the overseers of the poor, appointed by this act, shall have the same powers, and are required to perform the same duty which was formerly prescribed for the different vestries, under the direction of the different county courts, who are hereby empowered and required to make the like orders, and observe the same rules, as is directed by the act, intitled "An act for settling the titles and bounds of lands, and for preventing unlawful hunting and ranging." [5]

The provision for carrying on outdoor relief at present where there are no boards of public welfare is as follows:

1. Be it enacted by the general assembly of Virginia, That there shall be organized in every county and city in the Commonwealth a board of poor commissioners to be composed of the superintendent of the poor and the overseers of the poor of the several districts of the county, where such officers are in existence, the county superintendent of public welfare and the superintendent of public welfare of the cities where such officer exists, and the president of the council in cities where there is no superintendent of public welfare. The said board shall elect from its members a chairman and secretary; it shall meet twice a year, in the months of January and July for the purpose of preparing reports to be forwarded to the State board of public welfare, setting forth the number of paupers provided for in the province of each, the amount received by the superintendent, the several overseers of the poor and the superintendent of public welfare from the annual levy, and the amount received from other sources, the amount expended for the past six months showing how much was expended at the place of general reception, how much for those supported or assisted elsewhere, and the balance remaining in their hands or under their control, and they shall embody in that report such other information as may be required by the State board of public welfare.[6]

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5. 12 Henning, 27-30, 1785.
6. Act of Assembly of Virginia, 1926, Chapter 252.

The method of making an application for relief is as follows:

Section 2800—Application for relief of poor. On application by or in behalf of one who is unable to maintain himself, or by or in behalf of the family of a person when he is unable to maintain it, and the family is unable to maintain itself, such person or family shall be provided for or assisted, if he or they have a legal settlement in a county, by the overseer of the district in which said pauper resides, and if there be no such overseer, then by some other overseer of the county, or if such settlement be in a town that provides for its poor, by the council of such town.[7]

Application for relief generally is made in person to one of the overseers of the poor or to the superintendent of public welfare where a board of Public Welfare has been organized, who makes an investigation of the need for relief. In many cases the person needing relief is referred to the proper authorities by some interested individual. There are some who are still inclined to regard the giving of relief as a political affair and seek to have certain persons placed on the relief list.

The Theory of Outdoor Poor Relief[8]

An understanding of the concrete material to follow will be enhanced through securing a picture of the theory underlying public outdoor relief.[9]

Anything beyond material relief which is needed to restore families to self-maintenance is not part of the traditional conception of the task of outdoor relief. Outdoor relief from the beginning of the colony has been one of the ways in which the dependent has been helped. As has been noted, its roots lie in legislation enacted many years ago. Its administrative basis is determined by the conception of the task undertaken. A program of outdoor relief assumes a group of persons who are unable to provide for their own needs, and are granted material relief as a means of aiding them. Whatever the language of the laws relative to poor relief, the theory has been that economic dependence in the individual was the difficulty to be corrected through the giving of a certain amount of material relief, the implication being in each instance that they lack sufficient income for bare subsistence. The assistance made available is practically con-

7. Code of Virginia, 1887.
8. Lee, Porter R., N. C. S. W. 1917, pp. 146-154.
9. The term "outdoor relief" as used in this chapter means the relief given from public or private funds to the poor in their homes, not including medical relief. By "indoor relief" is meant the care given to the poor by public and private institutions.

fined to such commodities as food, fuel, clothing, rent, and in some cases medical services. The dole of fuel or groceries given without seeking to understand and remove the cause of distress only further demoralizes the recipient. For the most part, the relief is for temporary need which implies the rehabilitation of the recipient of such relief. But in few cases is any active step taken to bring about the removal of the disabilities or other handicaps to the ability of the family to finance and manage its own affairs.

Thus, in outdoor relief the practice has been to leave the removal of the basic problem to the family, with the assistance of meager material relief while in the process. It has been the idea and practice that the giving of material assistance would solve the family difficulties. Those who have gone on that assumption fail to recognize that the disabilities in the family have been too much for its intelligence and resourcefulness. What the family needs is not primarily material assistance, but some service that will remove the disability. For so long as the disability exists in the family, material relief is not sufficient.

The administrative machinery provided to carry out this conception of the task of outdoor relief is simple. Neither the state law nor municipal ordinances at present set forth any special qualifications for the work of the administrator. The working principles of the poor relief officials have no elaborate procedure. Relief is to be given to respectable persons. The requests for aid are tested by the officials according to the following standards: Is the family a relatively decent one, and is their income really insufficient to keep life going? The chief question to decide is whether to aid or not to aid. When aid is granted seldom is the official's concern to avoid giving aid if possible, and it usually means a small amount of groceries or fuel. When the decision is not to aid, the responsibility of the official is at an end.

The formulation of an adequate theory and administrative procedure requires an analysis of the problems of dependency and a recognition of the family unit. So long as emphasis is placed upon the giving of material assistance, there can be no adequate program for assisting the needy. The analysis and classification of the factors of distress will reveal disabilities in the individual or family too serious to be ignored either by the family or by the community. Thus, when desertion, sickness, old age, unemployment, feeblemindedness, shiftlessness are found in the family there is certain to be some reflection in family status and community conditions. Al-

most any one of these factors is a sufficient handicap to self-maintenance, and must be removed before normal family life is possible. The family or individual needs counsel, direction, encouragement, and fellowship in most cases far more than material relief. The fundamental difficulty in outdoor relief, where material aid alone is given is that it is unaccompanied by thought and effort to reach and to solve the chief difficulties in the situation. Whatever the enacted statute may have been the theory in practice has been as sketched above.

Current Outdoor Relief Practices

Outdoor poor relief as sketched in these pages is largely a governmental function regulated by statutes. In the preceding section the theory underlying the administration of these statutes was outlined. In this section the available concrete data on outdoor relief is given.

An attempt was made to find exactly how many families in these counties received, from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, some kind of service other than institutional care from the welfare agencies. The relief work of churches and fraternal societies is not included. The agencies considered are: Boards of Public Welfare, Red Cross, Overseers of the Poor, Salvation Army, Community Welfare Leagues, and Chief of Police. The determination of the number receiving aid will make possible the formulation of a rate of dependency. Since many families received service from more than one agency the attempt was not as satisfactory as desired. The total number of families, after carefully eliminating duplicates, is given in the following table by counties.

TABLE 16

Number of Families Using Relief Agencies

County	White	Colored	Rate per 1000
Albemarle	438	141	15.76
Amherst	4	2	.29
Arlington	296	72	12.26
Augusta	421	69	10.85
Rockingham	167	30	5.56
Wise	370	12	6.90

On the basis of present information there is no way to tell whether these figures represent a large or small proportion of the total population, since there are no available data regarding dependency rates

for other counties. No one knows the "near" needy. On the other hand, the number receiving assistance is limited to the amount of funds available. If funds were adequate the number receiving relief no doubt would be much larger. It is apparent from the figures that there is considerable variation in the rate of dependency per thousand. Amherst County has less than one per thousand. Albemarle County has nearly 16. What should the rate be? No one knows for there are no other dependency rates with which to compare these.

An intensive study was made of 580 families in five counties to determine the disabilities that were factors causing them to appeal to the Boards of Public Welfare, the overseers of the poor or some private agency for material assistance. Two hundred and thirty-two families in Albemarle County were selected out of the 1640 cases coming to the attention of the joint Boards of Public Welfare during 1924-26. Each case record was read, the family was discussed with the Superintendent of Public Welfare and others and many of the families visited. The accompanying spot maps locate each family. A more intensive study was made of the cases handled by the joint Boards of Public Welfare of Albemarle County and Charlottesville than was possible in the other counties. For the other counties, the cases were gone over with the Superintendents of Public Welfare, the overseers of the poor or persons responsible for the private agency.

TABLE 17

DISABILITY OF DEPENDENTS, 1926-27

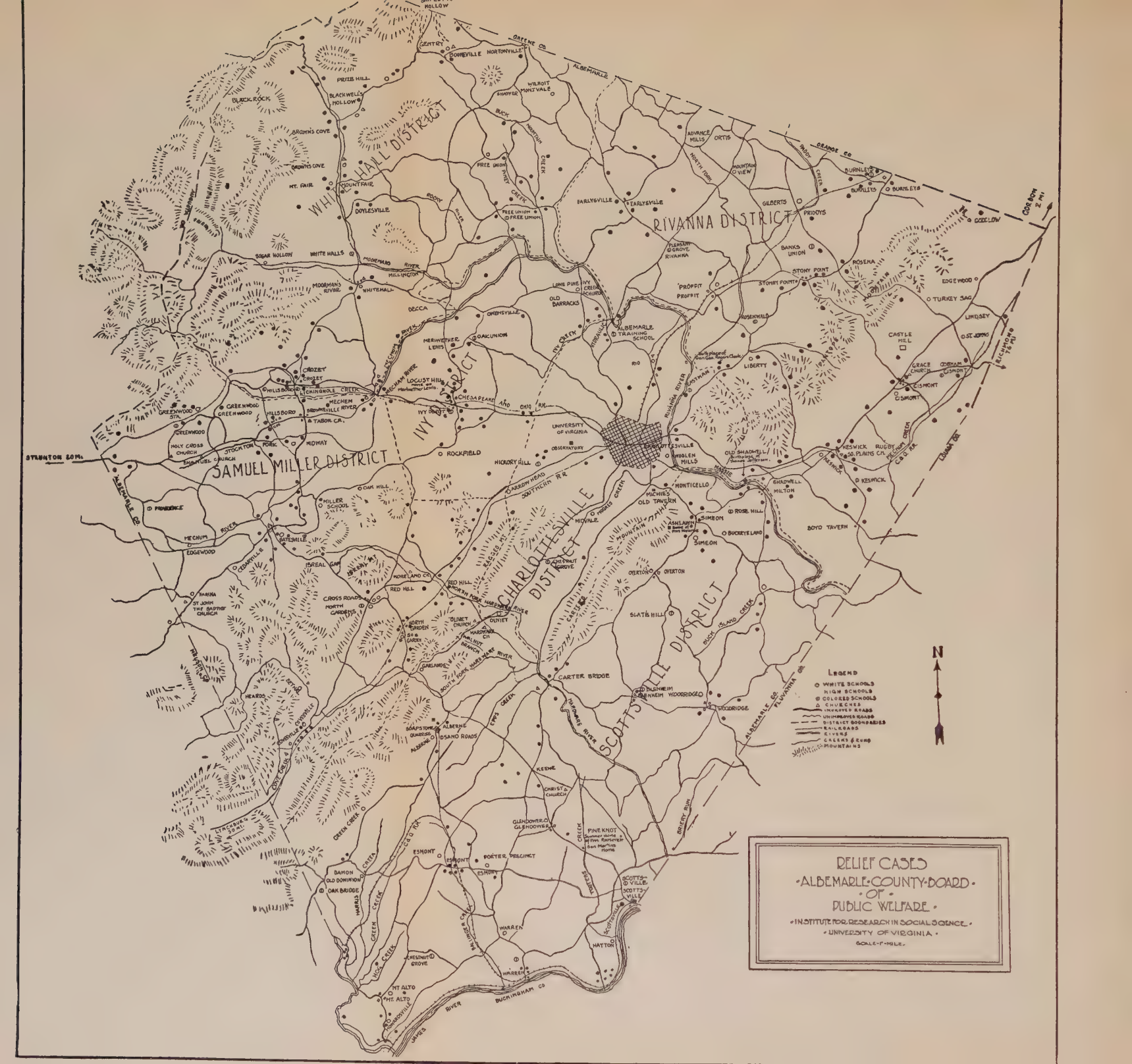
	Albemarle		Arlington		Augusta	
Disability	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Old age	97	41.80	2	7.15	55	57.29
Sickness	40	17.24	11	39.29	14	14.58
Dependent children	5	2.16	....	.....	12	12.51
Tuberculosis	27	11.64	3	10.71	1	1.04
Desertion and non-support	27	11.64	3	10.71	4	4.17
Blind	2	.86	....	.....	4	4.17
Crippled	2	.86	....	.....	1	1.04
Feeble-minded	6	2.58	1	3.57	2	2.08
Unemployment	2	.86	3	10.71	....	.....
Imprisonment	7	3.02	3	10.71	1	1.04
Insane-Hospital	2	.86	....	.....	....	.....
Maternity (Unmarried mothers)	5	2.16	1	3.57	....	.....
Accident, disaster	8	3.45	....	.....	2	2.08
Death	2	.86	1	3.57	....	.....
Total	232	100.00	28	100.00	96	100.00

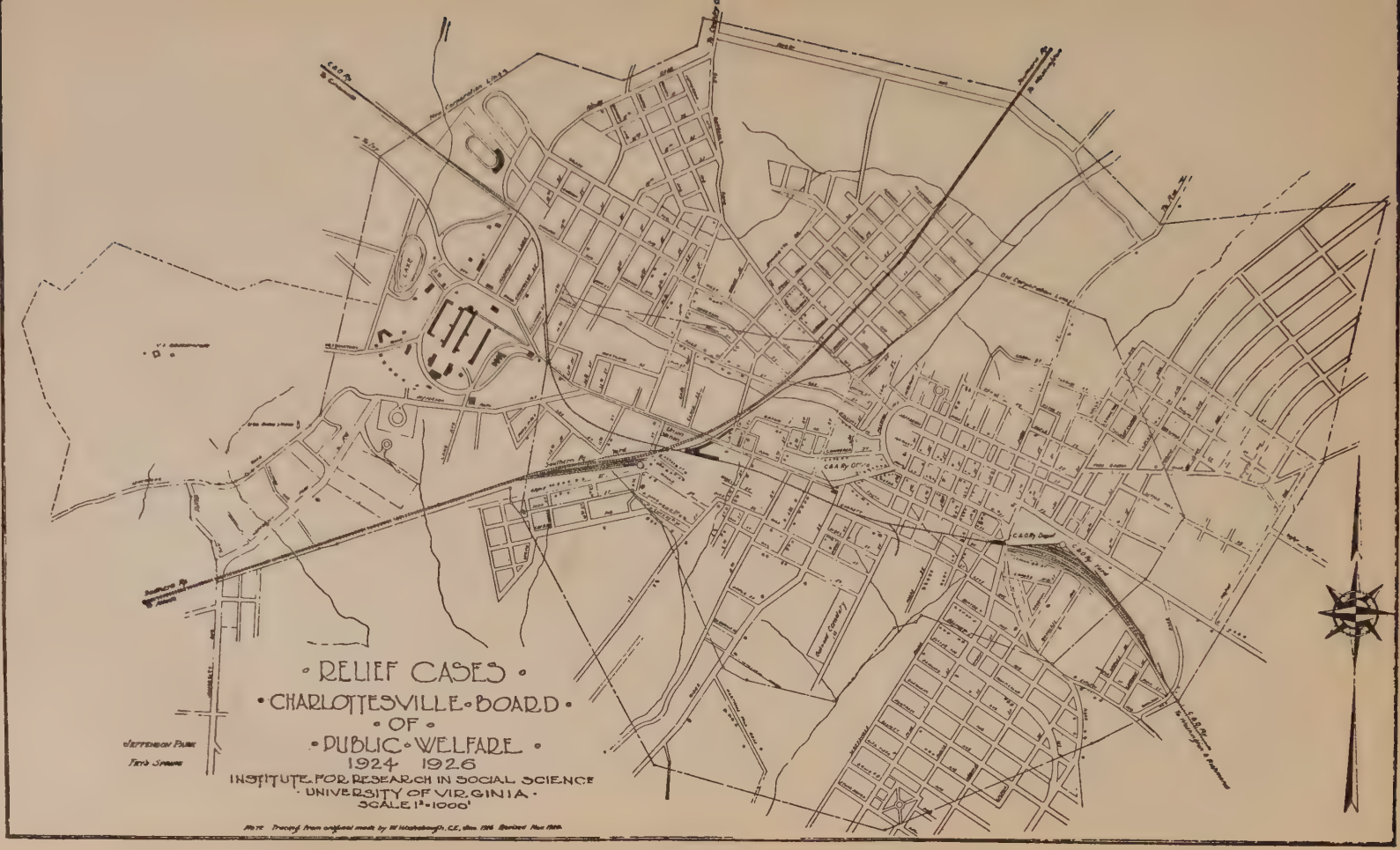
TABLE 17—Continued

Disability	Rockingham		Wise		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Old age	50	30.86	13	20.97	217	37.41
Sickness	44	27.16	12	19.35	121	20.86
Dependent children	30	18.52	10	16.13	57	9.83
Tuberculosis	4	2.47	....	.....	35	6.03
Desertion and non-support	2	1.23	2	3.23	38	6.55
Blind	9	5.55	4	6.45	19	3.28
Crippled	7	4.32	2	3.23	12	2.07
Feeble-minded	5	3.08	4	6.45	18	3.11
Unemployment	1	.62	....	.....	6	1.03
Imprisonment	6	3.70	3	4.84	20	3.45
Insane-Hospital	1	.62	....	.....	3	.52
Maternity (Unmarried mothers)	....	.....	....	.....	6	1.03
Accident, disaster	2	1.23	....	.....	12	2.07
Death	1	.62	12	19.35	16	2.76
Total	162	100.00	62	100.00	580	100.00

While the above classification may be unsatisfactory from the standpoint of objectivity and as indicating the real factors causing distress, and while no claim is made that any one factor was the direct cause for asking for material relief, it is felt that the factors indicated are significant. They suggest disabilities in the families too obvious and serious to be ignored. No one can tell what part these disabilities play in dependency, but when old age, sickness, tuberculosis, desertion and non-support, physical or mental handicap, accident and disaster, unemployment, imprisonment, and death exist in the family, they almost certainly imply serious disorganization of the normal run of family life. Any one of them is a sufficient handicap to self-maintenance and must be removed before the family can be self-sustaining.

Of the 580 families receiving outdoor relief old age as a factor in dependency occurred in 217 cases or 37.41 per cent. This is nearly twice the number given for any other factor, sickness coming next with 121 cases or 20.86 per cent. Consideration of the aged group may be divided into two classes: First, the group composed of the institutional cases and those who are recipients of outdoor relief from boards of public welfare, churches, fraternal societies and similar organizations. The second group is made up of the nondependent who do not seek aid from public or private welfare sources, but prefer to make all sorts of sacrifices rather than seek aid. Many of them


WHITEHALL DISTRICT
RIVANNA DISTRICT
IVY DISTRICT
SAMUEL MILLER DISTRICT
CHARLOTTESVILLE DISTRICT
SCOTTSVILLE DISTRICT
GREENE CO
ALBEMARLE
ORANGE CO
FLUVANNA CO
BUCKINGHAM CO
AUGUSTA CO
STAUNTON 20 MI
CHARLOTTESVILLE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
OBSERVATORY
MONTICELLO
ASHLAWN
SIMEON
ROSE HILL
BOYD TAVERN
OVERTON
SLATE HILL
CARTER BRIDGE
WOODRIDGE
ESMONT
PORTER PRECINCT
SCOTTSVILLE
HATTON
WARREN
ALBERENE
SCRABBLE CREEK
KESWICK
RUGBY
CISMONT
GRACE CHURCH
CASTLE HILL
LIMLEY
TURKEY SAG
EDGEWOOD
STONY POINT
ROSENA
BANKS UNION
PROFFIT
EARLYSVILLE
BARLYSVILLE
ALBEMARLE TRAINING SCHOOL
OLD BARRACKS
LONG PINE IVY CREEK CHURCH
IVY CREEK
RIO
LIBERTY
ROSEWALD
PLEASANT GROVE RIVANNA
ADVANCE MILLS
ORTIS
MOUNTAIN VIEW
GILBERTS
PRIDDYS
BURNLEY
BURLEYS
GORDONS
ZION
OCCOLOW
WOOLEN MILLS
OLD SHADWELL
SHADWELL
MILTON
MICHIES OLD TAVERN
MIDVALE
HICKORY HILL
ROCKFIELD
OAK HILL
MILLER SCHOOL
GATESMILL
MECHUM RIVER
EDGEWOOD
PROFFIT
CROZET
HILLSBORO
GREENWOOD
GREENWOOD STA.
TABOR CH.
BROWNSVILLE
MECHEM
MIDWAY
STOCKTON
HOLY CROSS CHURCH
EMANUEL CHURCH
PORIC
LOCUST HILL
CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO R.R.
CHINQUAPIN CREEK
MECHUM RIVER
WHITEHALL
MILLINGTON
MOORMAN'S RIVER
SUGAR HOLLOW
WHITE HALLS
DOYLESVILLE
MT. FAIR
BROWN'S COVE
BLACK ROCK
BLACKWELLS HOLLOW
PRITTS HILL
GENTRY
BONNEVILLE
MORTONVILLE
WILMOTT
MONTVALE
SHAFFER
BUCK MOUNTAIN
FREE UNION
FREE UNION CHURCH
DECCA
OWENSVILLE
MERIWETHER LEWIS
OAKUNION
IVY DEPOT
RIVANNA RIVER
MONTICELLO
RAGGED MT.
RED HILL
MORELAND CH.
CROSS ROADS
NORTH GARDEN
OLIVET
OLIVET CHURCH
HARDWARE CH.
WALNUT BRANCH
GARLANDS
SOUTH FORK RIVANNA RIVER
HARDWARE RIVER
CHEESE CREEK
CHESTNUT GROVE
SOAPSTONE
ALBERENE
SAND ROADS
KEENE
CHRIST CHURCH
GLENDOWER
GLENMORE
PINE KNOT
SUMMER HOME OF PRES. ROOSEVELT
DAN MARTIN'S HOME
BRIERY RUN
BUCK ISLAND CREEK
SLATE CREEK
CARTER CREEK
CEDAR CREEK
HARRIS CREEK
MOSS CREEK
CHESTNUT GROVE
MT ALTO
PT. ALTO
TOMAHAWK
JAMES RIVER
DAMON
OLD DOMINION
OAK BRIDGE
ISREAL CHURCH
CEDARVILLE
PARINA
ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH
HEARDS
HEARDS MTN
RIVANNA CO
LYNCHBURG 50 MI
N
LEGEND
WHITE SCHOOLS
HIGH SCHOOLS
COLORED SCHOOLS
CHURCHES
IMPROVED ROADS
UNIMPROVED ROADS
DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
RAILROADS
RIVERS
CREEKS & RUNS
MOUNTAINS
RELIEF CASES
ALBEMARLE COUNTY BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
SCALE 1 MILE


RELIEF CASES
CHARLOTTESVILLE BOARD
OF
PUBLIC WELFARE
1924 1926
INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
SCALE 1"=1000'

are in want through no fault of their own. Whatever the cause of their need this group merits attention and should be thoroughly studied in order that a constructive social policy may be worked out to cope with the problems created. Our discussion is not concerned with this group, though it is the one that has real possibilities of constructive work. In either group knowledge of the actual conditions which compelled or lead to want, an examination of the effects and consequences of the present methods of giving relief, an evaluation of these methods in terms of a sound public welfare program, are all essential to an adequate policy for relief of the aged.

The causes that make for old age dependency are many and varied. While no one factor can be assigned as the specific factor in any one individual case of old age, it is well to enumerate some of the forces which sweep unnumbered aged individuals into want. Based on a study of the 97 old age cases in Albemarle County, it was found that four main contributing causes might be listed.

Sickness is by far the most general factor leading to old age dependency. Out of 97 cases of relief to old people in Albemarle County, 69 per cent reported sickness as the major factor. Comparable figures for the other counties are: Augusta 57.29 per cent, Rockingham 30.86 per cent, Wise 20.97 per cent, and Arlington 7.15 per cent. It is of interest to note that Wise County has the smallest per cent of the population 45 years of age and over and this probably explains the low percentage of aged people. It is true that sickness and dependency are so closely interrelated that one may lead to the other making it hard to determine which is causal. It was found in certain cases that sickness led to the necessity for asking for aid on the part of the aged because they had used up their savings.

Feebleness as a factor in old age is higher in rural sections than in urban areas and produces 13 per cent of the old age dependency cases. By feebleness we mean the sheer inability to work, not the inability to secure work that can be performed by an aged person.

Inability to earn enough to maintain self is a factor in 10 per cent of the cases. Individuals become unable to farm as much as formerly and thus their incomes decrease. While the amount of food needed is perhaps thus decreased, the amount of medicine used is increased.

Lack of family connections was listed as the obvious factor in 8 per cent of the cases. It may be that "lack of family connections" is present in practically all cases. Some of these aged have no children, or if they have, their children are unable to assist them for one cause or another. The conditions of old age are augmented by the break-up of

the family unit in present day society. Home ties and family solidarity are being weakened and broken by the mobility so essential to modern industrial development.

Sickness has been listed as basic in dependency in 40 cases or 17.24 per cent and tuberculosis for 27 cases or 11.64 per cent. The comparable figures for sickness in the other counties are Arlington 39.29 per cent, Rockingham 27.16 per cent, Wise 19.35 per cent, and Augusta 14.58 per cent. Tuberculosis is listed with 10.71 per cent for Arlington; 2.47 per cent for Rockingham and 1.04 per cent for Augusta. Of the 580 cases of dependency studied 20.86 per cent were due to sickness, and 6.03 per cent due to tuberculosis. While it is generally agreed that more sickness occurs among poor people than among the well-to-do, there is great difference of opinion as to its cause. Some hold that the whole difference is due to the association of certain conditions with dependency which are not necessarily a part of poverty. For example, sickness is said to be due to the hard labor of the dependent class rather than to dependency itself. Obviously, if there is any one causative factor in dependency, it is the lack of income in materials or money which is the important factor. Low economic status really means a bundle of factors, living and working conditions, income, recreation, and the like, which cannot be separated from dependency because their absence means the absence of dependency.

A consideration of the factors involved in low economic status, dependency, and sickness are varied. It may be that dependency is not a cause of sickness, but that sickness is the cause of dependency. The factors that may influence the sickness rate in dependent classes may be stated broadly as follows: (1) Heredity, (2) Selection (social and biological), and (3) Environment.

The dependent classes may be of a weaker type, physically, mentally, or both. They may be in the more menial pursuits because this weaker hereditary make-up prevents them from entering or remaining in more difficult and more remunerative occupations. If it is true that persons in the dependent classes are of a weaker hereditary make-up, they might be expected to have a relatively higher sickness rate than other groups regardless of the conditions under which they live or work.

In the second place, individuals in the dependent class may have begun life with a hereditary background and social characteristics much like others, but as a result of accident or other circumstances having no relation to constitutional make-up, they may be unable to continue in their regular occupations and consequently are forced into less

remunerative work or forced to take up and work less fertile land. Selection and competition force them to less favorable opportunities. Whatever the process they are unable to make enough to support themselves and family.

In the third place, the higher sickness rates among the dependents may be the result of the conditions under which they live and work. There are a multitude of ways in which the manner of living may affect the rate of sickness in the dependent class, such as occupation, food, clothing, housing, medical care, number of children, recreation, and many others, but the question remains as to what environmental factors are of most importance. Additional information is needed on the interdependence of sickness and dependency.

Tuberculosis, on account of the nature of the disease, in many instances wears out the funds of a family, or cuts off the supply of funds from the family (if the bread-winner is afflicted) and thereby makes a financial burden upon relief agencies.

Desertion and non-support account for 27 cases or 11.64 per cent. Comparable data for the other counties are Arlington 10.71 per cent, Augusta 4.17 per cent, Rockingham 1.23 per cent, and Wise 3.23 per cent. In desertion and non-support such incidents as sickness, poor management, disagreement over punishment of children, injury, inability to hold job, inability to get work, pregnancy of wife, unfaithfulness on part of husband or wife are factors at the basis of family disorganization.

The death of the husband accounts for two cases. The loss of the bread-winner throws a burden too great upon the wife and in consequence she must appeal for assistance. In these two cases sickness had so exhausted the funds of the family that death left the family dependent. Wise County had 19.35 per cent of its cases as due to death, Arlington 3.57 per cent, and Rockingham .62 per cent.

In five cases or 2.3 per cent the unmarried mother received assistance. The relief was actually given for the board of the child of the unmarried mother, but to some one other than the mother. In the early history of Virginia it was the practice to give aid to the unmarried mother direct in order that she might keep the child, but such practice does not obtain today. Arlington County lists one case; none are given for the other counties.

Work with unmarried mothers is one which the county cannot afford to neglect. While the Superintendent of Public Welfare of Albemarle County worked with 75 cases of delinquent and unmarried mothers during 1924-26, there were reported to the State Department

of Health 174 unmarried mother cases. In Charlottesville in 1924 there were 12 white and 30 colored illegitimate births, and in the county 14 white and 28 colored; in Charlottesville in 1925 there were 17 white and 25 colored and in the county 12 and 27 illegitimate births, respectively. There were in Charlottesville in 1926, 9 colored illegitimate births. The conclusion should not be drawn that these represent all of the cases of illegitimacy in Charlottesville and the county. Many of them are not reported to the State Department of Health. Cases are by no means infrequent of mothers with even four illegitimate children. In isolated sections of the county no special stigma is attached to the girl who gives birth to a child outside of wedlock. The situation as described for Albemarle County is as true for the other counties.

While mental defectiveness was listed in only 3 cases or 1.3 per cent, it is perhaps a greater factor than these figures indicate. Comparable figures for the other counties are Arlington 3.57 per cent, Augusta 2.08 per cent, Rockingham 3.08 per cent, Wise 6.45 per cent. Without means of testing the intelligence of those applying for relief one can only record the cases as feeble-minded when it is apparent to the ordinary observer. It is evident from visits to homes and observation of conduct that low intelligence is a factor in dependency quite beyond the indicated data. On the other hand no one knows how many feeble-minded are not dependent.

Two cases each are listed for blindness and crippled. These physical handicaps loom larger in dependence than most people have any idea. Of the 580 cases of dependency studied 3.28 per cent were attributed to blindness, and 2.07 per cent to being crippled. Unemployment accounts for four cases. The factor in unemployment is perhaps unwillingness to work, rather than inability to secure work. Imprisonment seriously affects the welfare of the family. The per cent of such cases needing help in each county are; Albemarle 3.02, Arlington 10.71, Augusta 1.04, Rockingham 3.70, and Wise 4.84.

If space permitted cases could be given illustrating the various factors discussed above. It is felt, however, that an enumeration of the factors furnish the concepts for classifying the disabilities, and that they can be checked by others for their accuracy as casual factors in dependency.

In table 18 attention is directed to the expenditures and the number of families receiving relief from the Board of Public Welfare of Albemarle County.

TABLE 18

AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING OUTDOOR RELIEF—ALBEMARLE COUNTY, 1924-1926

District	1924		1925		1926	
	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number
Charlottesville	$ 125.48	10	$ 281.50	9	$ 268.40	5
Ivy	323.90	15	190.00	10	190.00	9
Scottsville	634.75	24	538.78	28	529.00	26
Samuel Miller	676.90	36	543.45	28	611.00	32
Rivanna	762.63	31	902.93	37	910.16	36
White Hall	760.18	33	739.27	34	710.00	31
	$3,283.84	149	$3,195.93	146	$3,218.56	139

TABLE 18—continued

	Total Amount	Total Number
Charlottesville	$ 675.38 in 3 yrs.	24 in 3 yrs.
Ivy	703.90 in 3 yrs.	34 in 3 yrs.
Scottsville	1,702.53 in 3 yrs.	78 in 3 yrs.
Samuel Miller	1,831.35 in 3 yrs.	96 in 3 yrs.
Rivanna	2,575.72 in 3 yrs.	104 in 3 yrs.
White Hall	2,209.45 in 3 yrs.	78 in 3 yrs.
Total	$9,698.33	414

During the three year period of 1924-26, 414 families or 232 different families received outdoor relief to the amount of $9,698.33. Whether or not this number is large or small it is not possible to judge, since there are no available statistics regarding the rate of dependency in the different counties of the State. It is known that some counties in the State get along with fewer dependents and less material relief and other counties have larger numbers and a greater budget for relief. Albemarle County has for years maintained the budget per year for outdoor relief with slight variations as indicated above regardless of economic conditions.

Table 19 shows the amount of relief per year per family received in 232 cases.

These figures indicate that the highest amount yearly per capita of outdoor relief was $100.00 and given in but one case. In 82.3 per cent of the cases the relief was less than $25.00 per family per year. It is apparent that the amount of material relief received in the majority of cases could not affect the welfare of the family to any extent. No standards of living studies are available with which to

TABLE 19

NUMBER RECEIVING AND AMOUNT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF PER FAMILY PER YEAR IN 232 CASES

Amount of relief given per family per year	Cases	
	Number	Per cent
less than $5.00	30	12.9
$ 5.00 and less than $ 10.00	38	16.4
10.00 and less than 15.00	48	20.6
15.00 and less than 25.00	75	32.4
25.00 and less than 50.00	30	12.9
50.00 and less than 75.00	7	3.1
75.00 and less than 100.00	3	1.3
100.00 or more	1	.4
Total	232	100.00

make comparisons. It should be said however that for many of these families any income, however small, is considerable in view of the resources of the family and the standard of living of the group from which they come.

On the basis of 232 families a study was made of the length of time relief was received. Data was not available to extend the study beyond the three year period.

A consideration of importance in outdoor relief is the length of time individuals are dependent upon the public bounty. As indicated in the accompanying figures relief in certain cases is a long drawn out process and may be said to have developed into almost a regular pension system. Out of a total of 232 families given relief 47 or 20 per cent were on the poor relief list of the county for at least three years and for $3,405.99, or 35 per cent of the total amount of outdoor relief given during the period of 1924-26. There is no telling how much longer some of these families have been receiving assistance. It is known that some were on the relief list of the county for at least ten years. In two cases the individuals to whom relief was being given were dead. Thirteen families or 5.6 per cent were on the poor relief list for two years and received $567.00 or 5.8 per cent of the total amount of relief granted during the period. Eleven families or 4.7 per cent received relief for one year to the amount of $313.78 or 3.2 per cent of the total amount. Thirty-six families or 15.5 per cent received relief for one month or less to the amount of $244.34 or 2.5 per cent of the total amount. This last may be regarded as emergency relief.

The distribution of the families and the average cost per annum,

TABLE 20

LENGTH OF TIME, AMOUNT, NUMBER AND PER CENT RECEIVING OUTDOOR RELIEF, 1924-1926

Length of time by months	Amount	Per cent	Number	Per cent
36	$3,405.99	35.1	47	20.0
35	148.89	1.5	2	.9
33	759.87	7.8	10	4.3
32	65.64	.6	1	.4
30	879.00	9.1	8	3.4
29	58.00	.5	1	.4
28	100.00	1.0	2	.9
27	309.50	3.2	7	3.0
26	26.00	.2	1	.4
25	425.00	4.4	2	.9
24	567.00	5.8	13	5.6
23	34.00	.3	1	.4
22	105.00	1.1	2	.9
21	63.00	.6	1	.4
19	38.00	.4	1	.4
18	284.00	2.9	8	3.4
16	47.00	.5	1	.4
15	141.00	1.5	4	1.7
14	42.00	.4	1	.4
13	230.50	2.4	8	3.4
12	313.78	3.0	11	4.7
11	55.00	.6	1	.4
10	76.00	.8	2	.9
9	205.00	2.1	12	5.2
8	32.00	.3	2	.9
7	126.00	1.3	2	.9
6	410.20	4.2	10	4.3
5	52.30	.6	5	2.1
4	155.32	1.6	7	3.0
3	181.79	1.9	14	6.0
2	117.35	1.2	9	3.8
1	98.60	1.0	19	8.2
Less than one	145.60	1.5	17	7.3
	9,698.33	100.0	232	100.0

and per family is given in table 21 by magisterial districts into which Albemarle County is divided.

Table 21 shows the average number of families receiving relief, the average annual cost of relief and the average annual cost per family of relief for the three year period 1924-26. Obviously, the amount per year per family is insufficient to aid the family to any extent.

Table 22 shows the articles of food purchased by a group of people receiving material relief from the Albemarle County Board of Public Welfare.

TABLE 21

ANNUAL RELIEF COST PER FAMILY

District	Average number relief families	Average annual cost of relief	Average annual cost per family
Charlottesville	8	$225.13	$28.14
Ivy	11	234.63	21.33
Scottsville	26	567.51	21.82
Samuel Miller	32	610.45	19.07
Rivanna	31	858.57	23.77
White Hall	26	736.48	33.00
Total	134	3,232.77	24.13

TABLE 22

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTICLES PURCHASED DURING THREE MONTHS BY 106 OUTDOOR RELIEF CASES

Article	Outdoor relief	
	Amount	Number of orders
Meat	$123.59	197
Flour	163.43	170
Sugar	82.59	154
Coffee	70.04	147
Lard	63.54	140
Meal	58.94	100
Matches	2.76	56
Baking powder	8.92	54
Soap	7.48	50
Soda	2.34	42
Tea	5.04	38
Beans	10.94	35
Oil	5.06	35
Eggs	14.44	34
Salmon	8.85	33
Salt	2.35	29
Potatoes	14.61	28
Rice	4.50	26
Bacon	18.63	19
Bread	2.77	19
Oatmeal	3.40	18
Can corn	3.60	16
Cheese	4.80	16
Syrup	4.48	14
Can tomatoes	2.33	12
Can milk	2.35	10
Milk	1.72	11
Butter	2.88	9
Cabbage	2.91	9
Tomatoes	1.50	9
Apples	2.10	7
Fish	2.38	7
Crackers	.80	6
Can beans	.75	5
Cotton	.40	5

TABLE 22—continued

Article	Outdoor relief	
	Amount	Number of orders
Can peas	1.10	5
Corn flakes	.97	5
Merchandise	5.88	5
Can herring	.75	4
Cakes	.74	4
Chocolate	.40	4
Pepper	.48	4
Medicine	29.73	4
Onions	.69	4
Can asparagus	1.30	3
Cocoa	.55	3
Potted meat	.50	3
Peaches	1.15	3
Snaps (string beans)	.52	3
Clothes	1.40	3
Molasses	1.60	3
Corn starch	.30	2
Honey	.64	2
Tobacco	.20	2
Prunes	.30	2
Shoes	6.50	2
Hose	.35	2
Peas	.81	2
Vanilla	.30	2
Black draught	.35	2
Salve	.65	2
Asparin	.70	2
Turpentine	.40	2
Acid	.05	1
Apricots	.35	1
Bananas	.38	1
Cake flour	.12	1
Dried apples	.50	1
Gingham	.31	1
Hairpins	.05	1
Hominy	.25	1
Lamp chimney	.10	1
Lemons	.20	1
Outing	.54	1
Polish	.15	1
Safety pins	.10	1
Glasses	.10	1
Towel	.25	1
Lye	.12	1
Extra jar	.85	1
Pan cake flour	.15	1
Thread	.10	1
Apple cutter	.25	1
Extract lemon	.15	1
Yeast	.10	1
Tablet	.05	1
Mustard	.15	1
Peanuts	.05	1
	$771.90	1,669

The record in table 22 is based upon the purchases of 106 individuals during the months of October, November and December 1926. $771.90 was spent for 1669 purchases. The list of 88 articles indicates the distribution of purchases among the different articles of food. In amount expended and the number of articles purchased, meat, which included bacon, heads the list, followed by flour, sugar, coffee, lard and meal in the order given. At the other end of the list there are 25 purchases of one article each.

The method of granting relief is to inform the grocerman that certain individuals are to be given an order amounting to so much. Within quite a wide range the recipients are allowed to select more or less what they want, although it is understood that certain items such as tobacco, cakes, candy and merchandise are not to be included in the order. The stores from which the order is to be obtained are selected so as to be convenient to the recipients.

It is evident from the above list that certain items should be eliminated and others added. The amount of sugar and coffee should be decreased, especially coffee. It is a stimulant with no food value and young people may be better without it. There is need of training in food values and food costs.

The Superintendent of Public Welfare aims to control the purchase of "necessities" through the scrutiny of the bills rendered by the grocer who sends in to the Board of Public Welfare an itemized account each quarter for each person on his list. There is considerable variation in the manner in which the bills are made up: some persisting in reporting the amount of the bill without designating the items purchased.

The outdoor relief practices of three hundred years are being cast off. The overseers of the poor are giving way to superintendents of public welfare. The administration of outdoor relief is being placed in the hands of professional workers who are bringing new standards and objectives into practice. Witness to this transition is seen in the rise of foster home care of children and mothers' aid, both of which are discussed in succeeding chapters. The necessary machinery for welfare work—relief and rehabilitation—in the counties is provided for by law; but its organization will be a slow growth. The initial steps have been taken and this backed by a fine local spirit, indicate possibilities of sound development along these lines.

CHAPTER V

The County Almshouse

The English Background

THE Almshouse of Virginia is a direct descendant of the old English workhouse. The first suggestion in England concerning a workhouse for the able-bodied is found in a pamphlet published in 1646 entitled *Stanley's Remedy.* In 1647 an ordinance was passed in London, providing for a corporation to establish a workhouse. One was established at Blackfriars and another at Minories about 1655. Sir Mathew Hale advocated their establishment in 1683 and Thomas Firman in 1687. Under a special act of Parliament, a workhouse was established at Bristol in 1697, another at Worcester in 1703, and one at Plymouth in 1707. It was thus that the system of workhouses initiated by the parishes in England had their beginning in local acts.[1] The general introduction of institutions of this character was authorized by Act 9 George I, c. 7, 1722.[2]

The early poorhouse laws of Virginia were taken over from England, the chief features being copied from the great act of Elizabeth (43 Eliz., c. 2, 1601)—and from later English acts. Acts George I, c. 7 says that "for the greater ease of parishes in the relief of the poor, be it further enacted by the authority of the aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor in any parish, town, township, or place in vestry or other parish or public meeting for that purpose assembled....to purchase or hire any house or houses in the same parish, keeping, maintaining and employing any or all such poor in their respective parishes or places." [3]

This act of George I is perhaps a reflection of England's experience in passing from an era of promiscuous, unsupervised contribution for the support of indigents, who though maintained by public and private charity were permitted to live as they pleased, to the new system of maintaining indigent people in public institutions. This experience may have led the colony to adopt an institutional method for the care of the indigent.

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1. Webb, Sidney, *English Local Government,* 1906, p. 30.
2. Gray, B. Kirkman, *History of English Philanthropy,* 1905, pp. 72, 73.
3. Nicholls, George, *History of the English Poor Law,* 1898, II, pp. 16-17.

Early Virginia Legislation and Practice[3a]

With the meeting of the first Assembly of Virginia, in 1619, the care of the poor was given to the vestries of the churches. In March, 1661, the Assembly adopted the common law of England and re-enacted the Virginia Statutes of 1619. Act 11 of that session reaffirmed the supervision of the poor by the vestries as follows:

"That for the makeing and proportioning the levyes and assessments of building and repayring the churches, and chappells, *provision for the poore,* maintenance of the minister, and such other necessary duties for the more orderly manageing of all parociall affairs, *Be it enacted* that twelve of the most able men of each parish be by the major part of the said parish chosen to be vestrymen, etc.,"

Under this law, the vestries exercised civil power in the care of the poor, making levies for their support. In the most flourishing days of the colony it was an easy matter to find accommodations in private houses for the few indigent people of the parish, especially as the vestry paid for them from the proceeds of the levy or of lands and other property bequeathed to the parish. The poor had to be supported by the parish where they lived and if they wandered into another parish, they were sent back to their own parish. In 1668 the Assembly passed an act enabling the counties in cooperation with the vestries to build workhouses.

"Whereas, The prudence of all states ought as in them lyes to endeavor the propogation and increase of all manufactures conducing to the necessityes of their subsistence, and God having blest this country with a soyle capable of producing most things necessary for the use of man, if industriously improved. It is enacted by this assembly and the authority thereof, that for the better converting wool, flax, hempe, and other commodities into manufactures, and for the increase of artificers in the country, that the commissioners of each county court, with the assistance of the respective vestries, of the parishes in their counties, shall be and are hereby impowered to build houses for the educating and instructing poore children in the knowledge of spinning, weaving and other useful occupations and trades, and power granted to take poore children from indigent parents to place them to worke in those houses." Henning II, 266-67.

From 1668 there was no further legislation to provide trade education for the poor by establishing workhouses. The next movement was in the direction of the almshouse. These almshouses were county institu-

3a. James, Arthur W. *The Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia,* 1926.

tions and have remained so throughout succeeding years. In 1755 an act in general like the English law of 1722 was passed as a part of the scheme of the colony to handle the problem of poor relief.[3b] It seems that for some time there had been a steady increase in the number of poor people, especially the vagabond class, and it was for the purpose of furnishing a test of destitution and willingness to work, and to provide that able-bodied paupers should contribute to their own support, as well as, to reduce the costs of poor support, that the law was passed. The act contemplated education and employment in the poorhouse; it defined settlement and responsibility for the poor. The administration of the law was left in the hands of the vestries. The machinery then set up was essentially that of the present county almshouse system, except that control has passed from the parish to the county.

The first action in response to the law of 1755 seems to have been taken by Bristol Parish in Prince George County. In the November, 1755, meeting of the vestry the wardens were instructed "to apply to the Vestrys of Martins' Brandon and Bath parishes to know if they will join with this parish towards building a workhouse, to keep the poor of these three parishes in, pursuant to an act of the General Assembly." [4]

The next year committees from the three parishes met, and in the vestry meeting of February 23, 1757, the Bristol Parish members reported its conclusions as follows:

"It is the opinion of this Committee that a Convenient House ought to be Rented for Entertaining the poor of the said Parishes, if to be had, but if not, then Land ought to be bought and Convenient Houses to be built for the joint use of the said Parishes in proportion to the Number of Tithables in each of the said Parishes. This Committee having taken under their most serious consideration the unhappy and indeed miserable Circumstances of the many poor Orphans and other poor Children, Inhabitants of the said Parishes whose parents are utterly unable to give them any education and being desirous to render the said House as Beneficial as possible and that such poor Children should be brought up in a Religious, Virtuous and Industrious Course of Life so as to become useful members of the Community, Have Resolved earnestly to recomment it to their Respective Vestries that they should join in a Petition to the General Assembly to procure an Act to enable the Said Parishes to erect a Free School for educating the poor Children of the said Parishes in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic at the joint Expence of the said Parishes, and Uniting the same to the said Poorhouse under such

3b. Henning, 6, 175-76.
4. Bristol Parish vestry book, p. 160.

rules, Orders and Directions as shall be most just and proper for perfecting so useful and Charitable a Work, And in Order to facilitate the obtaining such Act to propose that the said Vesteries should unite in opening Subscriptions that the Rich & Opulent and all other well disposed people may have an opportunity of Contributing towards so pious a design out of that Store which the Father of Bounties hath bestowed on them." [5]

The intention of the joint committee's report apparently was to establish a kind of boarding school for improperly cared for children whether or not they were actually dependent. The idea evidently was to go beyond the provisions of the law of 1755 which contemplated merely the education of little children who might be cared for in each of the workhouses before the time of their apprenticeship. Though committees were appointed from the parishes, the workhouse was apparently not erected.

Vestry records show that poorhouses had been erected in Fredericksville Parish in Louisa in 1756, Petsworth Parish in Gloucester County in 1760, Christ Church in Lancaster County in 1767, Augusta Parish in Augusta County in 1771, and Stratton Major Parish in King and Queen County in 1772. The institutions established were not educational in their nature, as they might have been under the act. They turned out to be poorhouses. And so the poorhouses, almshouses, or county farms, got under way, supplanting in part a system of outdoor relief that perhaps better filled the needs of the Colony.

In the Act of the Assembly of 1755 there was a definite recognition by government that care should be given to certain classes of people by the local community. The principle that a dependent person must be supported by the legal unit in which he has residence is as old as the legislation of Henry VIII. Legislation in his reign provided that the poor shall be given care and aid by their own neighborhood.[6] With the assumption that the local community should be responsible for its needy, it was natural that the county should become the logical unit to provide the needed assistance. It was thus that the almshouse became a definite part of the social, economic, and political order of the county in Virginia. While it was the poor who were specifically provided for in the original act, there gradually came into the institution thus set up others who could not take care of themselves. At first this county institution was the only means of taking care of those people who were incapable of sustaining themselves. There was perhaps no necessity for any other institution.

5. Bristol Parish vestry book, pp. 156-66.
6. Leonard, E. M., *English Poor Relief*, 1900, pp. 55, 107, 109.

Almshouse Administration and Supervision

In the beginning vestries cared for the poor, but the Revolution brought the separation of Church and State. In 1780, the Assembly passed an act dissolving several vestries and setting up a body of overseers of the poor.[7] The overseers were made a corporate body and the vestries were required to make a settlement with the overseers of the poor funds. In 1785, the Assembly passed a general act doing away with the vestry control of the poor in all of the counties of the Commonwealth. This statute constitutes the basis of the poor laws of the present day. It has been amended from time to time, but the system which it set up is essentially the system of today. The overseers, as in the time of the vestries, appoint a superintendent of the workhouse, who has now become a constitutional officer known as the superintendent of the poor. His duties now, as then, however, are limited to the management of the workhouse, poorhouse, almshouse or county farm. He became the chief poor officer of the county.

Superintendent of the Poor

The law stipulates that the superintendent of the poor of each county shall have charge of the county poorhouse where one now exists. Where there is none, he shall, when so directed by the board of supervisors, provide suitable places for the keeping of the poor of his county, by renting or leasing buildings suitable for the purpose with land adjoining for farming. He shall receive at the poorhouse such paupers as may be sent to him by the overseers of the poor of the several districts of the county, and shall provide and care for these paupers in the manner set forth by law, and shall, when in his opinion it is not necessary for any pauper to remain longer at the poorhouse, discharge him therefrom.[8]

For his services the superintendent is to receive an appropriation on which to operate the place. The produce of the farm belongs to the institution. What is not consumed by the inmates and the staff is sold, the proceeds becoming available to the superintendent for the almshouse.

The superintendent receives $400 a year. In addition to his salary, it should be borne in mind, however, that he gets house and board for himself and family. The salary and perquisites have not been sufficient to attract the type of man needed for the difficult task of operat-

7. Henning, 288, 289, 1780.
8. Code of Virginia, 1878-9, § 868, p. 331.

ing an almshouse. Most often the wife of the superintendent serves as matron without pay. She may well be regarded as a "public official by marriage." [9] In some cases outside help is employed, mostly however for farm operations. Able-bodied inmates are supposed to make themselves useful about the place. The help given by inmates for the upkeep of the institution grows less and less each year because of the increasing number admitted who are more or less helpless.

Since farming is perhaps the most important feature of the almshouse management, it is natural to engage farmers as superintendents. With few exceptions the superintendent is a farmer. Selection on the basis of success as a farmer hardly qualifies a person to take care of and promote the general welfare of the present day type of almshouse inmates. The original intent of the almshouse was to furnish employment, but the present day inmates cannot do farm labor, and in most cases they are unable to help with any kind of work; consequently the farm work is done by the superintendent or paid employees. Most of the superintendent's time must be given to overseeing the farm operations with little opportunity left in which to consider the needs of the inmates.

The superintendent is responsible for the administration of the almshouse. He is held accountable by the public, through its selected officials, for the successful, economical, and humane administration of the almshouse. The conditions to be found in the almshouse depend to a very large extent upon the character and efficiency of the superintendent. It has been said that he "must combine the qualities of farmer, lawyer, executive, merchant, diplomat, purchasing agent, sociologist, baker, laundryman, dietitian, judge, minister, mechanic, doctor, and nurse."

The degree of supervision over the superintendent by the court and board of supervisors depends on the interest which the judge and supervisors take in the local institution. One is led to believe that they exercise very little supervision beyond the question of selecting the superintendent. The selection is sometimes made upon the basis of the cheapest man; sometimes because he has been of service to the party. A yearly inspection of all almshouses of the State is made by the State Department of Public Welfare. The findings of the State Department, with recommendations, are transmitted to the local authorities with whom is vested the management and control. State authorities must rely upon public opinion to correct any unsatisfactory

9. Stewart, Estelle M., *The Cost of American Almshouses*, 1925, p. 39.

conditions discovered. The effectiveness of the local program depends wholly upon the interest and enlightenment of the officials of the county. It is no wonder that every degree of efficiency and economy, of waste, extravagance and mismanagement are to be found in the almshouse. A lack of comprehension of the social elements involved in the conduct of such a public institution is characteristic for the most part of the managing personnel of the almshouse.

Records

Adequate records of persons admitted to the Virginia almshouses are non-existent. Most of the superintendents keep simple record books in which they enter the names of the persons admitted, dates of admission and discharge. Some have no records at all, but take an inventory now and then to determine the number in the almshouse. Social histories of the patients are not available. The cause of dependency is not given. No record is available to show the reason for admission, the circumstances on admission, the character of employment within and out of the institution and the result of such employment, the history of his illness, or other information necessary to determine the efficiency of the institution. All such matters are left to conjecture. The patient lives and dies without any more record of his almshouse life than the initial incomplete record of admission and discharge by death or otherwise.

The following is an illustration of this lack of records. A superintendent received a letter asking for information about a child that had been in the almshouse. The superintendent "advised that about seven years ago the child had been brought to the farm. They have kept no record of the case and he can not tell who brought the child or who took her away." Two cases were discovered where women had been in almshouses 94 and 56 years respectively. This information was given by the superintendents of the respective almshouses from memory. There were no written records giving the data.

No county keeps a per capita account record, or a record of the amount and value of crops. Figures as to crops and crop values are usually given as estimates. Any adequate administration of the almshouse involves the keeping of records upon which comparisons can be made and future policies outlined. These records should embrace such items as names, addresses, occupation of relatives, question of pension, sick benefit, insurance, dispensary history, work history and social history.

Employment

The theory on which the almshouse was established was that the farms would provide employment for the inmates; this would keep them in better physical condition and reduce the cost to the public of their maintenance. Further the inmates would "lose by their usefulness the degrading sense of dependence." At first there were some inmates who rendered considerable help in the general work of the farm but this has not proven true in later years because of mental defects, physical disorders and old age, most inmates are of very little value to the almshouse. No thorough medical examination is made at the time of admission, with the result that no one knows whether some of the inmates can work or not.

Care and Treatment

As a rule the only person to care for the inmates besides the superintendent is his wife. The care and treatment given is limited by attention to other farm and household duties and by their knowledge of such practices. As indicated in another connection the superintendent is selected primarily because of his ability as a farmer, rather than on the basis of his knowledge of hospital care of patients.

Inmates of almshouses are left largely to themselves. Little effort is made to provide something for them to do for their own sakes. If they cannot work except under direction they are left alone; they are not instructed in some form of work, nor are they given an opportunity for recreation or provided with some form of amusement.

Proper medical care is lacking: there are no hospital facilities; doctors attend patients as occasion demands; there are no nurses—either trained or practical. There is no separation or segregation of the sick from the well. Physical examinations are not given before or after admission. The superintendents with little supervision buy and administer drugs and nostrums. The inmates for the most part are housed in old, delapidated, ill-kept buildings, surrounded by dirt and squalor, afflicted by disease, and left to themselves in despair, loneliness, and hopelessness.

The following menus are given as presented by the superintendents of the two homes who kept a record of the items served at each meal for a week.

May 16-22, 1927

Augusta County Home	Staunton City Home	Augusta County Home	Staunton City Home	Augusta County Home	Staunton City Home
Monday					
Breakfast		Dinner		Supper	
Meat	Hash	Potatoes	Meat	Milk	Bread
Eggs	Fried potatoes	Corn (canned)	Beans	Butter	Butter
Hominy	Bread	Apples	Potatoes	Bread	Syrup
Dried peaches	Butter	Corn bread	Bread	Apple butter	Apple butter
Oatmeal	Syrup	Milk	Butter		Milk
Coffee	Cheese	Butter	Syrup		Coffee
Bread	Coffee		Applesauce		
Butter					
Tuesday					
Meat	Fried potatoes	Snap Beans	Cabbage	Milk	Bread
Eggs	Bread	Cabbage	Potatoes	Bread	Butter
Oatmeal	Butter	Tomatoes	Tomatoes	Butter	Apple butter
Fried mush	Cottage cheese	Pears	Butter	Jelly	Syrup
Butter	Coffee	Bread	Syrup		Milk
Bread	Syrup	Milk	Apple butter		Coffee
Coffee					
Wednesday					
Steak	Fried potatoes	Potatoes	Roast beef	Milk	Bread
Gravy	Bread	Corn Pudding	Creamed potatoes	Butter	Butter
Eggs	Butter	Beans	Butter	Preserves	Tomatoes
Apples	Cottage cheese	Cold Slaw	Syrup	Bread	Syrup
Oatmeal	Coffee	Bread	Coffee		Apple butter
Bread		Butter	Milk		Coffee
Butter		Milk			
Coffee					
Thursday					
Meat	Bread	Cabbage	Meat	Bread	Bread
Oatmeal	Butter	Rice	Beans	Milk	Butter
Eggs	Fried potatoes	Pudding	Creamed potatoes	Butter	Tomatoes
Dried peaches	Cottage cheese	Onions	Butter	Apples	Apple butter
Hominy	Syrup	Corn	Syrup		Coffee
Coffee	Coffee	Bread	Pie		
Corn bread		Milk	Milk		
Friday					
Oatmeal	Fried potatoes	Beans	Meat	Milk	Canned fruit
Fried Meat	Eggs	Potatoes	Cabbage	Bread	Butter
Fried mush	Syrup	Tomatoes	Potatoes	Berries	Apple butter
Hominy	Butter	Bread	Bread		Syrup
Gravy	Cottage cheese	Butter	Pudding		Cheese
Bread	Coffee		Milk		Coffee
			Coffee		
Saturday					
Oatmeal	Potatoes	Cabbage	Beans	Milk	Butter
Eggs	Butter	Corn	Meat	Bread	Canned fruit
Meat	Apple sauce	Potatoes	Potatoes	Apple butter	Apple butter
Bread	Cottage cheese	Butter	Butter		Cottage cheese
Apples	Syrup	Milk	Apple butter		Milk
Coffee	Coffee	Bread	Coffee		
Sunday					
Oatmeal	Fried potato cakes	Snap beans	Beef steak	Bread	Butter
Eggs	Eggs	Potatoes	Potatoes	Milk	Apple sauce
Fried mush	Butter	Beef	Pickles	Butter	Cottage cheese
Meat	Syrup	Macaroni	Slaw	Jelly	Syrup
Bread	Coffee	Pie	Butter		Milk
		Bread	Ice Cream		Coffee
			Cake		

The question of diet is of utmost importance in an institution caring for aged people. From the foregoing menus it is evident that the amount of food furnished is sufficient. The essential question is, is it adapted to the patients in the Homes? Aged people are in need of a diet quite different from that of growing children. The diet is too heavy in meat and starches, and deficient in vegetables and fruit.

Buildings and Equipment

The almshouses studied in the six counties range from the modern $35,000 stone building of Wise County to the old tumbling down brick structures of Augusta County and wood of Amherst County. For the most part the quarters for the inmates are unsuited for their proper care. Outside of the Wise County home which has one of the most, if not the most modern plant of its kind in any county in the State, the buildings hark back to a day when different ideas prevailed as to the kind of care needed by almshouse folk. Following is a brief description of the almshouse in each county.

Albemarle County

The institution known as the almshouse in Albemarle County consists of three buildings, the superintendent's residence which is a two story frame structure, and two large two story brick buildings for the inmates built in 1897, one for whites and one for colored, with forty-eight rooms, each having a capacity for two paupers. The buildings are heated by stoves and lighted by lamps. Water is supplied from a reservoir on top of a nearby mountain. The buildings are not fire proof, and are poorly kept and in a state of disrepair.

Amherst County

The cottage system is the plan followed in Amherst County. Besides the superintendent's buildings—a two-story frame structure—there are three wooden cottages containing in all, nine rooms, each with a capacity for three paupers. The cottages are heated by stoves and fireplaces and lighted by lamps. Water is secured at a distance in buckets. All the buildings are in bad condition, especially the cottages.

Augusta County

The superintendent occupies a two-story brick building. The inmates are housed in three brick cottages with a total of nine rooms with a capacity of four inmates to a room. The cottages are heated by stoves and lighted by lamps. The cottages were constructed nearly a hundred years ago and are in bad repair.

Rockingham County

The superintendent's residence and the pauper's quarters are housed under one roof. This building which was erected in 1869 is of brick and contains 17 rooms with a capacity of two to a room. The kitchen and dining rooms are in a two-story frame building separated from the main building. Stoves are used for heating, and lamps for lighting. While there is a water and sewerage system, buckets are used.

Wise County

The Wise County home is a two-story, 16 room, oblong structure constructed in 1925 of native sandstone. A porch runs the entire width of the building at the front and rear on both the first and second floors. There are hardwood floors throughout the building. All the modern conveniences have been installed—hot and cold running water, separate baths for men and women, electric light, ice box, electric washer, screened windows, and built in closets. Each room can accommodate two persons.

Staunton City Home

The building is a two-story, ell-shaped frame structure with sixteen rooms, each with a capacity for one or two patients. There is one bathroom on the second floor and two on the first floor besides an outside toilet. The building is in good repair.

Harrisonburg City Home

There are two wooden buildings in a bad state of repair. The main building, built as a family residence, which is used for inmates and as the residence of the superintendent, has eight rooms. The other building has four small rooms, each with a capacity for two inmates.

With two exceptions, the quarters for the inmates in all these counties are in bad condition, unsuited to the type of care necessary for the inmates. The following case is typical of conditions found in the almshouses: No screens are on the windows or doors. The odor in most of the rooms is almost unbearable. In the summer flies swarm like bees. While there are toilets they are not used, buckets being emptied in the back yard. Water and suds from the washing are poured under the wash house. The bedding is vermin infested. The walls of the rooms are smoked and dirty, with plaster off in spots. The almshouse is a veritable firetrap. It is built of inflammable material with no fire escapes, and no equipment for fighting fire.

Outside of the Wise County home and the two city homes, modern conveniences for the inmates do not exist; plumbing facilities have not been provided; stoves are still used as are kerosene lamps. The typical furnishing of a room consists of a bed, a chair, and some odds and ends. There are no closets and seldom a bureau in which to put away clothes and other articles.

The kitchen and dining room are usually quite unattractive places lacking screens on windows and doors and proper equipment. This is true even where the meals are served from the superintendent's kitchen. Food varies in all degrees of quality and quantity and is covered with flies in warm weather.

The picture of the almshouses here given reveals buildings, shabby and meagerly furnished, with inmates living in squalor, neglect, and drab desolation. One is forced to the conclusion that delapidation and inadequacy are the outstanding physical features of the almshouses. Most of the buildings are so located that they cannot be connected with city lights, water and sewerage systems. One of the unfortunate facts about the almshouses is that they are situated so far from centers of population that they are seldom visited. This means that those in charge have been without the stimulus of active community interest or criticism.

Character and Number of Inmates

Table 23 gives the number of inmates in the almshouses in the six counties for the year ending June 30, 1927.

There are nine more men than women in the almshouses in these counties. In Albemarle, Augusta, and Rockingham counties, the females outnumber the males in the total population. Albemarle County is the only one with more females in the almshouse than males. In Augusta and Rockingham counties the percentage of Negroes in almshouses is greater than the percentage of Negroes in the general population.

The number of dependent aged in public and private institutions averaged eight per 10,000 population. This ratio varies from 14 per 10,000 in Rockingham County to 3 in Amherst County. In seeking an explanation for the variation in the ratios, it may be that the number of people 45 years of age and over in the counties may have something to do with the number of aged people. Amherst and Wise counties have the lowest per cent of their people 45 years

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF INMATES IN ALMSHOUSES BY RACE AND SEX

Almshouses	White		Colored		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Albemarle County					
County Almshouse	7	5	2	2	16
Home for Aged	....	8	....	....	8
Amherst County					
County Almshouse	4	4	3	1	12
Augusta County					
County Almshouse	6	4	3	2	15
City Home	5	8	2	1	16
Rockingham County					
County Almshouse	18	8	1	....	27
City Home	2	4	3	2	11
Old Folks' Home	7	9	....	....	16
Wise County					
County Home	8	4	....	....	12
Total	57	54	14	8	133

of age and over. They have the lowest ratios of aged dependents. There are perhaps other reasons for the differences. For example, local interest and historical incident play a large part in providing for the aged.

County	*Public*	*Private*	*Total*
Albemarle	4	2	6
Amherst	3	....	3
Augusta	8	....	8
Rockingham	10	4	14
Wise	3	....	3
Average	5	3	8

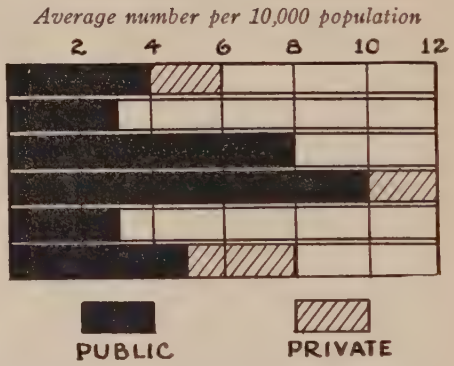

Fig. 3.—Number of Inmates of Homes for Aged, Public and Private, per 10,000 Population.

Little attempt, other than through the figures, has been made to explain the variations in ratios of aged dependents in figures 3 and 4. The fact that there is no complete data as to the volume of non-institutional care of the dependent aged in these counties, makes it un-

wise to attempt to draw any conclusions from the data here presented. Some of the aged are cared for through outdoor relief funds of the county. Churches, fraternal societies, and individuals help to maintain the aged in their own homes. The attempt to secure an accurate picture of the dependent aged in a county cared for in institutions or otherwise is further complicated by the fact that there are other inmates in the almshouses than the aged. The number of inmates in the almshouses cannot be taken as a measure either of poverty or pauperism existing in the counties. Only an enumeration of all the dependent poor, without distinction as to method of support will furnish an accurate picture of the full extent of pauperism.

The number of inmates in almshouses depends to a large extent upon whether the community makes ample provision for those in need of assistance through almshouse care, outdoor relief, or private care in institutions or otherwise. There are other inmates in the county almshouses than the aged.[10] The number is also dependent upon whether others such as the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and the like are cared for in the almshouse. A county may have few dependents in the almshouse because a policy of outdoor relief prevails or because many of the needy are cared for in special institutions.

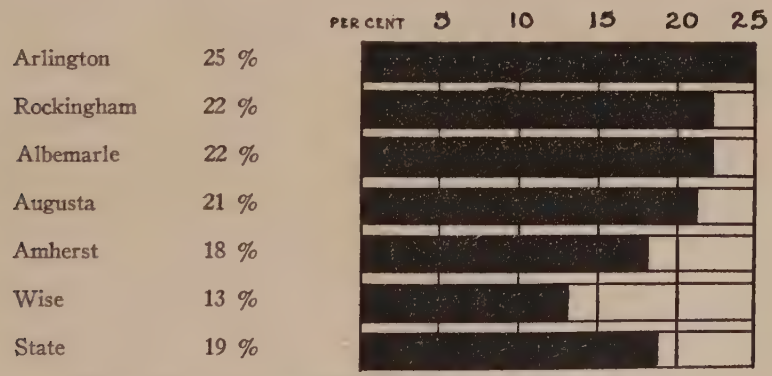

Fig. 4.—Percentage of Total Population 45 Years and Over (Based on 1920 Census).

In the early years and down to quite a late date "there were no colonies for the feeble-minded, no sanatoriums for the tubercular, no schools for the blind, no hospitals for the invalid, no system of child

10. Children, unmarried mothers, and some of the feeble-minded are still sent to the almshouse.

County	*Public*	*Private*	*Total*
Rockingham	5	2	7
Augusta	3	....	3
Albemarle	2	1	3
Amherst	2	....	2
Wise	2	....	2
Average	3	1	4

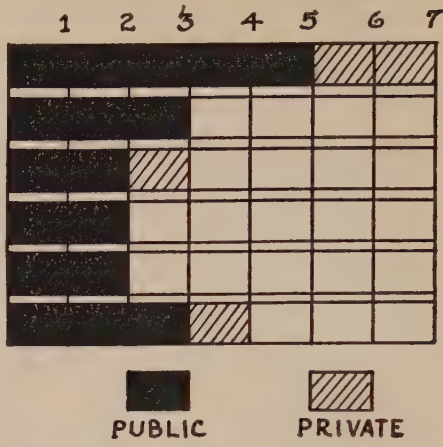

Fig. 5.—Average Number of Aged Under Care per 1,000 Population 45 Years of Age and Over.

care."[11] To care for all these cases of need in the county there existed only the county almshouse. To it were sent a heterogenous group for whom no other provision was made—the insane, the aged, the infirm, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the idiot, the blind and deaf mute, the prostitute, the mother of illegitimate children, the neglected and deserted children of all ages, the homeless and utterly destitute, and the friendless. It was the "catch-all for the dregs of society." To it came the "ragtag, and bobtail of humanity."

Further, attention has been directed from "indoor" relief to outdoor relief. Changed methods of public welfare have grown up to give aid to a wide range of helpless individuals.[12] The problem of the almshouse as related to the diminishing number of inmates available is stated by Ellen C. Potter as follows: "First, the field of poor-law administration has in recent years been greatly restricted and the almshouse population diminished in proportion to the total population

11. James, Arthur W., *The Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia*, 1926, p. 5.

12. As state institutions were built for various classes of needy persons there was a corresponding decrease in the number of those going to the county almshouse. The state has made provision for the insane through four hospitals organized in 1769, 1828, 1871 (Central State Hospital, colored), and 1887, respectively. A hospital for the feeble-minded and epileptic was started in 1911. The four schools for delinquent boys and girls were organized as follows: For colored boys, 1898; for colored girls, 1915; for white boys, 1910; and for white girls, 1910. There are two schools for the deaf and blind—one began in 1839 for white children, and one in 1906 for colored.

by the operation of military, civil, and industrial pensions and allowances to mothers with young children, and in addition by workmen's compensation and other forms of sickness and accident insurance; second, these forms of pension and insurance have to a considerable degree, eliminated from the almshouse population the younger age groups, many of whom were capable of performing a good day's work in the field or in domestic service; third, the increased expectation of life, the result of improved sanitation, and an energetic campaign of health education is insuring as candidates for almshouse care an ever increasing number of middle-aged and old persons suffering from the degenerative disorders of heart, kidneys, vascular system, and metabolic disorders; fourth, the able-bodied in almshouses have decreased, according to the United States Census figures, from 21.6 per cent of the total inmates in 1910 to 7.1 per cent in 1923.....This being the case, it is obvious that the almshouse population cannot be depended upon to run a farm, or even to do the domestic work of the institutions successfully; fifth, the investments in almshouse plant and equipment are enormous and the cost of maintenance are exessive, especially in view of the unsatisfactory results obtained; sixth, the annual admissions to almshouses for the United States number 63,807, with 78,090 in residence on January 1, 1923. Of these, at least 32 per cent had been previously admitted for from one to four or more times....seventh, the duration of stay of persons discharged from the almshouse in a given year (1922) indicates, contrary to expectation, that they are relatively a transient group, for out of 44,066 inmates discharged or transferred, only 12 per cent (5,681) had been in the institution for more than one year. Seventy-eight of the number had been in residence twenty years or more." [13]

The net result of all these provisions is that the field of almshouse administration has been greatly restricted and the almshouse population diminished in proportion to the growth of state and other means to care for various groups. Here is the problem: "After a county has sent its insane to the hospitals, its tubercular to the sanatoria, its blind to the schools, its children to the Board of Public Welfare or to homes through the agency of the juvenile court, there still remain a few cases of the worst type medically, or a few cases of real poverty, but not enough to maintain a standard institution for their care." [14] Later in

13. Potter, Ellen C., *National Conference of Social Work,* 1926, pp. 528-29.
14. James, Arthur W., *The Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia,* 1926, p. 17.

this chapter attention will be directed to the effort under way and in many instances carried to completion to meet the changed situation.

Even though provisions have been made in other institutions—both state and private—for certain classes of patients, the county almshouse still receives a mixed group. One can find instances where Negroes of both sexes mingle with white men and women, with children sandwiched in between. There were found in one almshouse thirty-five inmates—sixteen old and infirm, three idiots, two consumptives, one feeble-minded, two prostitutes, four physically afflicted, and seven children ranging from a few months to sixteen years of age. In another group there were thirty-one inmates which included two female idiots of the worst type, two feeble-minded boys—one 12 years old, born at the almshouse, the other one 17 years of age who had been an inmate for eleven years—a feeble-minded 28 year old woman with a two year old illegitimate baby born at the almshouse, a fifteen year old white girl (feeble-minded) who is locked in her room every night and who was "committed" two years ago to the almshouse by the County Board of Supervisors as a delinquent. The other inmates were for the most part old and either feeble-minded, sick, blind, or crippled. Almost none were able to care for themselves, much less help with the others. One crippled woman had the full responsibility of the two idiots.

The following conditions were found in still another almshouse: five idiots—two men and three women sleeping in one room fifteen feet square. In another room there were two white women and one colored woman.

In another almshouse were found three very old colored women, one colored girl, an epileptic who had a child a year old, and a blind man about 25 years old, all sleeping in the same room.

The feeble-minded, the depraved, and the respectable aged are all mingled in haphazard fashion. With such mixing there could be no other than deplorable social conditions in the almshouses. Illegitimate children born of almshouse inmates are not uncommon. Such cases increase the problem.

Since the public apparently is indifferent, the elected officials feel or show little interest in the proper care of dependents. What is worse many of the superintendents do not know the kind of care needed by the inmates. Indifference and neglect on the part of those in direct charge of the almshouses is perhaps born of the lack of concern on the part of the public.

Cost of Almshouse Care

"It is impossible to ascertain, at the present stage of inaccurate record keeping, the average weekly or yearly cost per capita." [15] This statement is as true of the almshouse today as it was in 1909 when made. One reason for this situation is the character of the administrator and the social milieu in which he carries on his work. Few farmers have any record of what they are doing. If you picture these small institutions, with their miscellaneous and unclassified populations, purchasing supplies and running farms, each according to its own self-elected plans, you have some reasons for the difficulty in securing an accurate cost statement of the almshouse. Table 24 shows the cost of seven almshouses—5 county and 2 city. The itemized statement for the two private homes is not available; their total costs are given in another connection—source of income of almshouses.

TABLE 24

Cost of Institutional Care of Aged

Items	Albemarle County	Amherst County	Augusta County		Rockingham County		Wise County
			County	City	County	City	
Clothing	$ 242.00	$ 331.00	$ 175.00	$ 50.00	$ 351.06	$ 82.12	$ 226.00
Provisions	553.25	367.00	500.00	643.00	1,066.16	1,619.07	950.00
Medicine	46.50	150.00	71.00	330.00	85.09	72.99	302.00
Transportation	.....	.....	15.00	.....	.....	.....	254.00
Coal and light	240.00	15.00	49.00	150.00	128.75	70.00	659.00
Furniture	.....	50.00	80.00	.....	92.05	38.90	.....
Repairs	76.30	735.12	230.00	50.00	482.52	162.00	84.50
Wages and labor	1,921.95	679.60	625.00	50.00	568.78	312.87	146.37
Cook—nurse	.....	370.00	.....	.....	288.32	90.00	.....
Supt. salary	400.00	500.00	600.00	924.00	400.00	600.00	840.00
Matron	.....	.....	.....	.....	300.00	230.00	.....
Other expense	1,590.79	.....	417.00	176.00	1,390.17	1,139.88	400.00
Burial	.....	.....	.....	50.00	.....	.....	80.00
Total	$5,070.79	$3,197.72	$2,762.00	$2,423.00	$5,152.90	$4,417.83	$3,941.87

Table 24 does not tell all the story. The value of products consumed has not been figured; *the deterioration* of property is not considered; the superintendent and his family is supported by the products of the institution. While these figures are the best obtainable, it

15. First Annual Report, *Virginia State Board of Charities and Correction*, 1909, p. 116.

is certain that the expenditures in some of the almshouses are greater than indicated. On the basis of the figures given the per capita cost is as follows: Albemarle County, $316.92; Amherst County, $266.47; Augusta County, $184.13; Staunton City Home, $151.43; Rockingham County, $194.18; Harrisonburg City Home, $401.13; Wise County, $328.48. These per capita figures indicate considerable variation. A glance at the table shows that there is little or no uniformity of expenditures for the thirteen different items.

Table 25 shows the source of income for the almshouses including the private homes.

TABLE 25

SOURCE OF INCOME OF ALMSHOUSES

County	Tax Revenue	Contributions	Earnings	Total
Albemarle	$ 3,480.00	.....	$5,064.29	$ 8,544.29
Amherst	2,694.72	.....	503.00	3,197.72
Augusta	3,834.00	.....	1,351.00	5,185.00
Rockingham	7,830.26	2,435.00	2,206.92	12,472.18
Wise	3,541.87	.....	400.00	3,941.87
Total	$21,380.85	$2,435.00	$9,525.21	$33,341.06

The income of the almshouses is derived, 64 per cent from tax revenue, 29 per cent from earnings, and 7 per cent from contributions. As will be noted contributions were made to only one Home.

GROWTH OF CONSOLIDATION OF ALMSHOUSES

It is quite evident that the county almshouse does not offer a solution of the problem of poverty and old age. County care shows a striking lack of uniformity. Each county has its own policy. The one practice that is uniform is to let the needy become down and out, demanding immediate aid, and then to handle the situation in the easiest way possible which is to send this group to the county almshouse. No system prevails whereby efforts are made to reduce pauperism by the application of scientific methods and principles.

The fact is that it is impossible to provide adequately for the helpless and diseased people in the county almshouse. In most of the institutions the superintendent is the only person employed to care for the inmates and he must also run the farm, keep accounts, look after the supplies, nurse the sick, and attend to all other matters

connected with the institution. Since the inmates of the almshouse are made up largely of aged people or those in need of hospital treatment it should be equipped to care for the indigent, sick and infirm.

Taking into consideration the amount of money tied up in the almshouses, the amount required annually to maintain them, the thousand of acres of idle lands and the duplication of effort, one is forced to the conclusion that the county almshouse system under present standards of social practice is a failure. The small number of inmates alone makes it uneconomical to maintain them in modern county hospital homes.

Among other factors, the growth of State authority has had considerable to do with the methods and standards of local institutions such as the jail, almshouse, and poor relief. The last decade has witnessed marked improvements in these institutions. As the State has increased its staff and thus its supervision, changes have taken place in county institutions. In no other institution has there been such a change as in the county almshouse. As early as 1910 Dr. W. F. Drewery, then superintendent of Central State Hospital advocated a district home. A bill was drawn by Governor Mann in 1913 to abolish the county almshouse and create instead district homes, located on large farms with a hospital for the sick, a home for the aged, a workhouse for the custodial care of vagrants and those convicted of non-support, and a separate building for low-grade, feeble-minded inmates.

In 1916 an effort was made to abolish the county almshouse and establish one large institution in each congressional district, but such opposition arose from almshouse superintendents and county politicians that the bill introduced into the Assembly was killed in committee. The political importance to the county organization of having the almshouse superintendent at its disposal was sufficient incentive for the local "bosses" to fight for its retention. The job carried with it perquisites which made it worth defending.

That the county boards of supervisors have sought to meet the situation is evident by the fact of the closing of almshouses. In 1909, when Dr. J. M. Mastin, the first Commissioner of Charities and Corrections made the rounds of almshouses, there were 108 county and city almshouses in the State—ninety-six county and twelve city and town almshouses. Following this first visitation, the Board of Charities and Corrections recommended the closing of the almshouses having a small number of inmates and began to coöperate with the boards of supervisors in arranging board, hospitalization and institutionalization for

them. In the decade following the first systematic visitation, thirty-three almshouses were discontinued. There were on June 30, 1927, 36 county and 10 city and town almshouses. Three consolidated hospital homes have been completed or are in process of construction.

Legislation in Virginia looking to the establishment of district almshouses, well planned, well equipped, and well managed, dedicated to the idea of caring for the aged poor, was passed in 1918. The statute is as follows:

"The boards of supervisors of any two or more of the several counties in this State, or the board of supervisors of any one or more of the counties in this State, and the council of any one or more of the several cities in this State are hereby authorized and empowered to establish a home for the care and maintenance of persons unable to care for themselves, to be known as district home of counties of....., or district home for the counties of ....., and city or cities of..... as the case may be." [16]

The first consolidation effected under this act embraced the counties of Fairfax, Fauquier, Prince William, Culpeper, and the city of Alexandria. The movement for this consolidation began in 1920 with Mr. George F. Harrison of Fairfax who used his influence in the counties of the eighth district to bring it about. He made a round of all the counties, appearing before the boards of supervisors. While his efforts were unsuccessful at the time, much educational work was done. In the fall of 1925, the proposition was again taken up. Impetus was given to the movement by the fact that the city of Alexandria was practically compelled to move its almshouse. Several of the counties had acute problems with their almshouses. All this served to add weight to the development of the plan of consolidation.

In January, 1926, a series of meetings was held in the offices of the Chamber of Commerce by representatives of the several boards of supervisors and the city council of Alexandria. Committees were appointed to make surveys of the properties and to work out a plan of consolidation and construction. The contract for the building was let on August 15th and the building occupied January 15, 1927.

The second consolidated hospital home was occupied in October 1927. Five counties are in this consolidation. On June 30th, 1928 there were fifty-five patients from these counties.

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16. Code of Virginia, 1918, §§ 2807-1, p. 312.

The expenditures for this hospital home and the farm for a six month period is as follows:

Farm expenses (net)	$ 944.93
Food supplies	1,745.16
Clothing	292.22
Medical attention and supplies	228.59
Miscellaneous supplies (including disinfectants)	220.88
Laundry	55.94
Postage and stationery	43.78
Telephone	7.40
Fire Insurance	37.20
Transportation	2.50
Advertising	4.80
Electric current (light and power)	153.12
Labor	1,462.90
Salaries	810.00
Gas and oil	39.66
Fuel	293.25
Digging graves	16.00
Shrubbery	57.15
Dishes	30.56
Mileage	12.30
Total	$6,458.34

Deducting $200.00 secured through a rental income, it cost $6258.34 to operate the home, or a cost per diem per patient of $0.71, or on the basis of thirty days to a month, $21.57 per month, and $258.84 per patient per year. The institution is too new to tell whether the annual expenditures per patient is low or high. The cost will somewhat depend upon the personnel of the home. Speaking of the consolidated home, Mr. James, says: [17] "the district home will provide trained supervision, medical and nursing attention, comfort, occupation, happiness .....afford a social service for investigation for all the component units;.....make restitution and rehabitation possible in many instances;.....prevent the spread of disease;.....classify and segregate the inmates;.....prevent the birth of many almshouse feebleminded;.....keep the undeserving away;.....bring happiness to the deserving." The consolidated hospital home will be better than the county almshouses; but no better than the social intelligence of the communities supporting it.

17. James, Arthur W., *The Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia,* 1926, p. 22.

CHAPTER VI

Care of Children—Foster Home

Dependent, Neglected and Delinquent Children

MANY of the forms of service for children deal with them in their family relations. This is particularly true in family case work, health work, school attendance, and group activities. Whatever the service to children the aim is to insure that they shall have an opportunity for satisfying growth. "In the United States standards of child care now include proper food, clothing, housing, health and medical service, both general and vocational education adjusted to the child's ability, play opportunities, home training in an atmosphere of affection and of loving discipline, and effective participation in some form of group life outside the family." [1]

To provide the essentials indicated above for the dependent and neglected children involves the creation of welfare units to help them secure the opportunity to have a satisfying and productive life. This procedure rests on the recognition that to provide them with such an environment is less expensive to society than to permit children to come to adult life ill prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship and parenthood. Historically the care of dependent and neglected children in Virginia has always been a local matter. The greatest service of the State Department of Public Welfare, today, to the local community in caring for dependent and neglected children is as "an educating, assisting, coöperating agency" [2] rather than in assuming direct responsibility for them.

A primary concern of a county in dealing with its child problems is to provide sustenance and protection to those who are in distress. The service to dependent and neglected children has value far beyond the immediate facts in the case. In many instances dependent children also become the neglected and delinquent children of the community, and the latter in considerable numbers provide the group out of which come the adult criminals. For the county and community to deal intelligently and constructively with its dependent, neglected, and destitute children is to prevent much unhappiness and

1. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia,* 1926, p. 33.
2. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia,* 1926, p. 38.

save itself much trouble and financial expense. To do this the county must be interested not only in the care of those children who have already become dependent, neglected and delinquent, but also in seeing that protection and care come to all children so that those who are near the border line may get the right sort of help at an early age and thus prevent the development of conditions which will produce tragedy and expense if not forestalled.

Certain general terms have been worked out for the purpose of classifying and describing children on the basis of their social needs and physical handicaps. "When the family breakdown is such that children are thrown on the public for direct care or for support or assistance in their homes, the children become 'dependent,' as that word is ordinarily used. When their behavior is so unsatisfactory that the aid of police or courts is invoked in controlling them the children are commonly classified as 'delinquent.' When the child is so handicapped physically or mentally that the community must assist his family in giving him necessary treatment or custodial care or must provide for him special forms of public education, the child is usually designated as 'defective.' " [3]

The legal definitions of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children as defined by the Virginia statutes are given in the following pages.

"The words 'dependent child' shall mean a child under eighteen years of age, who is homeless or destitute or dependent on the public for support; or whose parents, for good cause, desire to be relieved of its care and custody or who is without a parent or guardian able to provide for its support, training and education, and is unable to maintain himself by lawful employment, except such children as are herein defined as 'neglected' or 'delinquent.' " [4]

It is evident from this statement that those listed as dependent are helpless and are the victims of social situations over which they or those responsible for them have lost control. A dependent child implies many things. It may mean the necessities of life—be they mental, physical or moral—are not forthcoming. This failure may be due to fundamental conditions that are hard to remedy, because reconstruction of social relations are involved. Hereditary influences, death of parent or supporter, economic maladjustments, poverty,

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3. Children's Bureau Publication No. 176, *Child-Welfare Conditions and Resources in Seven Pennsylvania Counties*, 1927, p. 2.

4. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia*, 1926, p. 33; or Chap. 481, § 1906, Acts of Virginia, 1922.

sickness and other factors in dependency are hard to control. The factors in dependency in a rural environment, while they are less complex, are nevertheless different from those in an urban situation, not only in their arrangement, but also in their bearing upon the person.

"The words 'neglected child' shall mean a child under eighteen years of age:

"Who is abandoned by both parents, or if one parent is dead, by the survivor, or by his guardian; or

"Who has no proper parental care or guardianship; or

"Who habitually begs or receives alms; or

"Who is found living in a house of ill fame or with vicious or disreputable persons; or

"Whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty or depravity on the part of its parent, guardian or other person in whose care it may be, is an unfit place for such child; or

"Whose parents or guardian neglect or refuse, when able to do so, to provide medical, surgical or other remedial care necessary for its health or well-being; or

"Whose parents or guardian permit such child, if under the age of sixteen years, to engage in any occupation or calling defined by the child labor law as dangerous to the life or limb or injurious to the health or morals of such child." [5]

The term implies a failure in the care of children on the part of those supposed to be responsible for them. It has been found that from the condition of neglect other serious ills of children arise; because of it the child often becomes delinquent and furnishes the source from which a constant stream of children flow to the courts and child-caring agencies. Neglect of children arises not only from physical causes, but to social conditions adverse to wholesome living. Calamities overtake the family or the family fails in the normal obligations to the child.

The "delinquent child" is a child under eighteen years of age who:

"Violates a law of this State or a city, town or county ordinance; or

"Is incorrigible; or

"Is a persistent truant from school; or

"Habitually associates with vagrants, criminals or reputed criminals, or vicious or immoral persons: or

"Is an habitual loafer or vagrant; or

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5. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia*, 1926, p. 33; or Chap. 481, § 1906, Acts of Virginia, 1922.

"Uses habitually intoxicating liquor as a beverage, or who uses opium, cocaine, morphine, or other similar drugs without the direction of a competent physician; or

"Frequents a disorderly house or house of ill fame; or

"Frequents a gambling-house or place where a gambling device is operated; or

"Habitually and without restraint uses or writes or circulates vile, obscene, vulgar, profane or indecent language, or is guilty of acts of moral perversion." [6]

The legal definition of the "delinquent child" applies in the main to children who come before the juvenile court for having violated some state law, or town, city or county ordinance. The delinquent as an individual or as a person is little understood.

In the present chapter attention is directed to the dependent and neglected children who are cared for in foster homes. The following chapter will describe the institutional care given to such children. Chapter VIII gives consideration to mothers' aid as a means of extending aid to dependent children. Delinquent children are discussed in the chapter on the juvenile court.

English Background

The use of the family home as a place of care for the dependent and neglected child reaches far back into history. From time immemorial generous hearted people have opened their homes to children who had become dependent or neglected. In 1562 the English government legalized an apprentice system.[7]

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the poor law apprenticeship used in England as a means of caring for dependent children and relieving the public from charges for their support. The intention back of the apprenticeship was to provide maintenance and supervision and perhaps industrial training rather than education as is evident in the following:

"Ye meaning of ye statue was not for the education of boys in arts but for charity to keep ym and relieve ym from turning to roguery and ideliness, so a man's house was, as it were, a hospital in yt case, rather than a shop of trade." [8]

It seems that the overseers of the poor were concerned primarily

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6. James, Arthur W., *The Public Welfare and Juvenile Laws of Virginia*, 1926, p. 33; or § 1906, Chap. 481, Acts of Virginia, 1922.
7. Dunlop, O. Jocelyn, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labor*, 1912, p. 60.
8. Dunlop, O. Jocelyn, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labor*, 1912, p. 252.

with relieving the parish from responsibility of support of the poor. Burn holds that the overseers understood their duty to be,

"To maintain their poor as cheap as possibly they can at all events; .....to bind out poor children apprentice no matter to whom or to what trade, but to take special care that their master live in another parish." [9]

The general statute under which dependent children were bound out in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was incorporated in the Elizabethan poor law of 1601,[10] the apprenticeship provisions of which were not repealed until 1814. This statute made the parish churchwardens and the overseers of the poor, the poor law officials, and gave to them the duty of apprenticing the children whose parents they might think not "fit or able to keep or maintain them." Parish levies were made to pay for children taken in apprenticeship. To apprentice a child the consent of two justices of the peace had to be obtained. The consent of the justices took the following form: *We, T. L. and M. T., two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County aforesaid, do hereby declare our consent to the putting forth of the above said L. M. Apprentice to the said J. K. according to the intent and meaning of the Indenture above written.*[11]

The English scheme of apprenticeship of dependent children familiar to the colonial Virginian was a system of compulsory support and guardianship of children administered, under at least the nominal supervision of the county justices, by the parish poor law officers who used parish funds to partly compensate those taking children.

Early Virginia Practices

It was only natural for the English system to be continued in Virginia. The Virginia statutes distinguished three classes of children who were subject to forced apprenticeship:[12] poor orphans;[13] children who were not being brought up properly because of poverty, disordered lives, or carelessness of their parents;[14] and illegitimate children.[15] The law of 1727 in regard to dependent children was as follows:

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9. Burn, Richard, *History of the Poor Laws*, 1764, p. 211.
10. 43 Elizabeth, c. 2, 1601.
11. Wells, Guy Fred, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, 1923, p. 72.
12. Perhaps the earliest record of apprenticeship in America is that of one, Wessell Webling, dated September 25, 1622, *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, 1622-1632, pp. 124-125.
13. Henning, I, 416 (1656).
14. Henning, I, 336 (1646); II, 298 (1672).
15. Henning, I, 438 (1662); III, 87 (1691).

That if it should happen, that the parent or parents of any child or children, upon due proof before the court of the county wherein such parent or parents inhabit, shall be adjudged incapable of supporting and bringing up such child or children, by reason of his, her, or their idle, dissolute, and disorderly course of life, or that they neglect to take due care of the education and instruction of such child or children, in Christian principles, that then it shall and may be lawful upon certificate from said court, to and for the churchwardens of the said parish, where such child or children shall inhabit to bind out, or put to service or apprentice such children for such time or term, and under such covenants, as hath been usual and customary, or the law directs in the case of orphan children.[16]

In general the statutes dealing with forced apprenticeship had four main objects:[17] the improvement of industry through the training of skilled workers,[18] the reduction of the amount of property and vagabondage,[19] the better bringing up of dependent children,[20] and relief from public responsibility for support.[21] The early theory was that every child should be attached to a family, should receive three years' schooling,[22] should have some occupation and should be instructed in the Christian religion. On the other hand the apprenticeshipped child was to do all he could do for his master's welfare and to avoid all temptation to evil that tippling houses or taverns were supposed to offer. It would seem that the Virginia authorities sought to secure right family surroundings, education and work for children. But it is also evident that the court and vestrymen sought to relieve the local community from the burden of support. Apprenticeship was no guarantee of adequate protection for the child.

The duty of apprenticing poor orphans as noted above was in the hands of the county justices,[23] while the binding out of bastards as servants or apprentices was given to the parish wardens.[24] "There were laws enacted after 1662 specifically empowering the wardens to bind out illegitimate children upon their own responsibility and also poor, but the vestry books show that whenever the vestries wished they considered the cases and ordered the wardens to act in accordance with their decision. This was justified by the general principle that the

16. Henning, IV, 212 (1727).
17. Wells, Guy Fred, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, 1923, p. 73.
18. Henning, I, 336 (1646); IV, 482 (1736).
19. Henning, II, 298 (1672, An "Act of suppressing vagabonds and disposeing of poore children to trades").
20. Henning, IV, 212 (1727).
21. Henning, III, 375 (1705).
22. Brock, Robert A., *The Colonial Virginian*, 1891, p. 17.
23. Henning, II, 298.
24. Henning, IV, 212.

wardens were subject to vestry control, and by the fact that the vestry was responsible for the care of the poor and for the parish finances. The vestry ordered the apprenticing of orphans, although the laws provided that this duty should be performed by the county court." [25]

After 1727 the apprenticing of children of poor or careless parents was delegated to the wardens acting "upon certificate" from the county court.[26] It probably was the practice of the wardens to take the names of children and the proposed masters to the justices, who then approved the proposed disposition of the children by a court order. If this view is taken then the justices had only a formal part in the binding out of children.

It would seem that while the vestries never had the duty with regard to apprenticeship assigned to them by statute, yet the common practice was for them to bind out poor children. This assumption of the charge of binding out dependent children naturally grew out of their having charge of the care of the poor. Vestry books show that children were apprenticed by the vestries. The following are typical cases:

Upon the petition of Elizabeth Glidewell that she is a poor widow and not able to take care of her children desires that her son Robert Glidewell be bound to Thomas Clemmon as the law directs Tis granted (Bristol Parish, 1729).

Ordered that Francis, Agness, Thomas, and Averillah, children of Mary Gerrard, widow, be bound out by the church wardens (St. Paul's Parish, 1729).

To Mrs. Abagail Richardson, for Mary and Susanna Jeffs, children of Sarah Jeffs, in full for the time she hath kept them, and to identify the Parish from all charges for keeping and bringing them up the said children for the time to come, they being now bound apprentices to her (Henrico, 1771). 1500 pounds of tobacco was paid for their keep.

With this brief historic view of the legislative provision and practices in Virginia, attention will be directed to a study of child-placing as it is carried on in one county in the state.

Foster-Home Care in Augusta County

The discussion of foster-home care of children to follow is based on a study of the child-placing work done in Augusta County through the County Board of Public Welfare. No other county in the State has

25. Wells, Guy Fred, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, 1923, pp. 7-8.
26. Henning, IV, 212.

such a distinct child welfare program.[27] Prior to the organization of the County Board of Public Welfare as the Community Welfare League in November 1914, there were no organized public or private welfare agencies in the county to deal with the varied family problems. The organization of the Community Welfare League provided some means for helping with the special problems in connection with the care and protection of dependent and neglected children. From the beginning, the League has placed its major emphasis upon the care of children. The material is presented as an illustration of the methods of work in the care of dependent and neglected children in a rural county. The present welfare unit consists of a juvenile and domestic relations court for the city as well as the county, a full-time probation officer, a joint board of public welfare for the county and city with a superintendent of public welfare who gives part time, an executive secretary of the Community Welfare League and a half-time stenographer. There is thus a county-wide agency to care for the welfare problems of Augusta County, staffed by people born and reared in the county. It is the County Board of Public Welfare's child welfare work that we are to describe as carried on through the Community Welfare League. Hereafter, we shall refer to the County Board of Public Welfare and not to the League.

The personnel through which the work of foster-home care of children is done in Augusta County are (1) a superintendent of public welfare; (2) a full-time probation officer; (3) a juvenile court judge; (4) an executive secretary;[28] and (5) a half-time stenographer.

During the period 1916-1927, 607 children came under the care of the Board of Public Welfare and were disposed of as indicated in table 26. These children include those whose parents have died, are sick, incompetent, mentally irresponsible, immoral, unmarried, or in poverty. The children themselves present a wide range of mental and behavior difficulties. While some of the children came from homes of relatively good standards, others came from surroundings of ignorance and filth, immoral influences, family discord and other unwholesome conditions. All came from homes that found it no longer possible to give the care and protection demanded by modern society to children on the part of parents.

The territorial distribution of the homes of the children who had

27. The Mothers' Aid program of Wise County is discussed in chapter VIII. Albemarle and Arlington Counties care for children as part of a general outdoor relief program.

28. An Associate Executive Secretary has been secured since the study was made.

TABLE 26

CHILDREN UNDER CARE OF AUGUSTA COUNTY BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE, 1916-1927

Magisterial districts in the county	Total number of children received for care	Number of children in homes at present		Restored to own home	Number in institutions					Married	Working	Ran away	No present record	Dead
		Free or wage	Adoptive		Industrial schools	Hayes Memorial	Children's Home Society	Western State Hospital	Feeble-minded Colony					
Beverly Manor.	149	27	6	35	20	31	8	0	1	5	7	1	7	1
Pastures	56	11	2	16	8	0	1	1	2	6	2	1	6	0
Middle River.....	46	18	1	9	7	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	3	3
South River.....	51	25	2	9	5	0	0	0	0	4	4	2	0	0
North River.....	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rivershead	50	33	2	9	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	0
Staunton (city).	249	23	5	50	33	0	17	0	0	44	21	0	49	7
Total.....	607	143	18	128	74	31	26	1	5	61	37	7	65	11

to be removed indicates that there are certain areas in the county which contribute the major share. The map shows an area in the western part of the county and one on the eastern border that have few children removed from the home or placed in a home. These areas are mountainous and inaccessible and have few people. The map also shows certain areas that have contributed many children for placing but have received few. Craigsville, Augusta Springs, Greenville, New Hope are such communities. A check of school records for these sections shows that the attendance record is low. A larger per cent of the pupils are repeating school grades in these communities than in certain others. The areas of non-school attendance are economically poor. The natural resources are such as to make it difficult to secure a livelihood; some of the better communities, from the standpoint of soil and productivity receive children and some do not. Considerably more social and economic material is needed to work out the spatial distribution of children taken from one home to be placed in another.

Out of the 607 children coming under the jurisdiction of the County Board of Public Welfare from 1916 to 1927, 161 children are in foster homes at the present time, 128 children were restored to their own families, and 137 children were placed in institutions, either state

CHILDREN UNDER the CARE of AUGUSTA COUNTY BOARD of PUBLIC WELFARE 1916-1917.

Institute for Research in Social Science
University of Virginia.

SCALE OF MILES

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EXPLANATION

- Churches
- Improved Roads
- Unimproved Roads
- District Boundaries
- Rail Roads
- Home in which children were placed
- Home from which children were removed

or private. Seventy-four in the last group were sent to the State Industrial Schools, five to the State Colony for Feebleminded and Epileptic and one to Western State Hopsital, thirty-one to Hayes Children's Memorial, a private colored institution in Staunton, and twenty-six to the Children's Home Society of Virginia. Sixty-one of the children have married, and so far nothing has occurred among them to call the attention of the Board to them. Thirty-seven children are now maintaining themselves and in some cases contributing to the support of the family. Seven children ran away. Sixty-five of the older children have disappeared, the Board having no record of where they are. These were all older children, mostly girls, who came to the Board in the early days through the Welfare Home then operating in Staunton. When the Board first began to care for children, girls from 16 to 20 years old, who had been picked up on the streets and county roads were placed from the Welfare Home. It is from this group that those came who have since disappeared. Eleven children are dead.

For the most part, the study is concerned with the 161 children who are in foster homes at the present time. Where the larger number is the basis of discussion, it is so indicated by quoting the appropriate figures.

Selection of Foster Homes

With the breakdown of the natural home the children were committed to the Board of Public Welfare as wards of the State. While they were made wards of the State Department of Public Welfare, few children were actually sent to it. Custody of children involves more than shelter, food, clothes, and schooling; it implies also a carefully thought out plan for the child's welfare. To find homes for reasonably normal and attractive children is a comparatively easy matter, but to place those who are below par, physically or mentally, involves consummate skill. It has been the practice of the County Board when taking children from their homes to place them in a receiving home where their needs and disposition can be studied. Here those under par physically are built up; those with bad personal habits and manners are trained; and those incapable of being placed in homes are weeded out and sent to institutions. This policy has been very helpful in handling children and making them fit for placement in homes.

Method of Obtaining Applications

Various methods are employed by the County Board of Public Wel-

fare to obtain applications for children. In the beginning an immense amount of work was involved in securing foster homes. A social policy on the part of the county had to be developed which looked to the care of its own children rather than shunting them to the State or some child-placing agency. Possible foster families were interviewed, and a clientele was thus built up of those interested in caring for children. The usual method of securing an application followed at present is through an announcement in the local newspapers. The work of the Board has become so well known that many families are led to apply for children because they know of the work and have seen children grow up in the homes of friends and neighbors. Because of the general good work of the Board, child-placing in Augusta County has become comparatively an easy matter.

Those applying for children are asked to fill out an application blank which aims to secure initial information relating to various phases of the foster family's life. On the basis of this information, reports are secured from others concerning the home, so every home is not visited. While the best practice of child-placing insists that the home should be visited, in a rural county where the Executive Secretary, the Juvenile Court Judge and the Probation Officer have been life-long residents of the county, it is not as necessary as in an urban situation. Then, too, the close coöperation with other county agencies, such as the Departments of Health and Education, and County and Home Demonstration agents maintained by the Board, makes available information against which homes can be checked.

The Terms of Placement

In accordance with the contract form of the Virginia State Department of Public Welfare, which is used by the County Board, a child may be placed until he is twenty-one, the right to cancel the contract being reserved whenever the interest of the child requires or whenever the conditions of the contract are not executed. The person securing the child may also cancel the agreement at any time by returning the child. The requirements of the contracts are:

1. To provide suitable clothing for week days and for attendance at church and Sunday School, and to provide nourishing food and all other necessities both in health and in illness.

2. To send the child to church and Sunday School with reasonable regularity.

3. To send the child to a public or other school until he reaches the age of fourteen, which is according to the educational laws of the State of Virginia.

4. To treat the child kindly, as a member of the family.

5. To provide the proper food, medicine, and medical treatment necessary in case of the child's illness.

6. To notify the County Board of Public Welfare, immediately, if the child runs away. To notify the County Board of Public Welfare if he returns or his whereabouts are learned.

7. To notify the County Board of Public Welfare promptly of any change of address.

8. Not to give the child into the custody of another person without the consent of the County Board of Public Welfare, under any circumstances.

9. Not to take the child out of the State.

10. To pay the transportation in case the child is returned.

The County Board of Public Welfare reserves the right:

1. To remove the child if at any time the circumstances in the home are found to be in its judgment injurious to the physical or normal well-being of the child.

2. To return the child to its own relatives, if circumstances make it advisable to do so.

3. To send one of its visitors to see the child in its foster home at any time.

Types of Homes from Which 161 Children Were Removed

Information was secured as to the type of home from which 161 children were removed, and who were in foster homes at the time of the study.

TABLE 27

RESIDENCE OF CHILDREN AT TIME OF REMOVAL FROM OWN HOME

	Number	Per cent distribution
1. With both parents	17	10.6
2. With mother	68	42.2
3. With father	31	19.3
4. With step-parent	9	5.6
5. With relatives	10	6.2
6. Abandoned	16	9.9
7. From the State	10	6.2
Total	161	100.0

The removal of 10.6 per cent of the children from families in which both parents were living indicates conditions of family discord, degeneration, neglect, or other incapacity that calls for serious consideration in planning for the future of such children. While nothing

should be done to cause a definite and continuous separation of children and parents, if there is a possibility of future control without injury to the children, the fact that separation is necessary may involve planning the future of the child separate from his parents.

At the time of removal, 42.2 per cent of the children lived in homes in which the mother was responsible for the maintenance of the family. While the Virginia law provides for mothers' pensions, Augusta County has not as yet taken advantage of its provisions. To provide aid for dependent children in their own homes, the fitness of the home shall be taken into consideration. It may be that in many cases the mother is not a fit custodian of her children. In other instances there is lack of adequate supervision of the children at home, making it inadvisable to supplement the income of the home in order to keep the children there. Even though the mother was subsidized, it is unfortunately true that frequently aid is inadequate and it is necessary for her to work in order to maintain the family, and her employment taking her from the home often means neglect of the children, which in turn leads to delinquencies and other difficulties. Case histories indicate that the mother found it to her advantage to be relieved of her children. In 19.3 per cent of the cases the children were living with the father at the time of removal. 27.9 per cent of the children were living elsewhere than in their parental homes when they were removed. Of these 5.6 per cent were in step-parental homes, 6.2 per cent in homes of relatives, 9.9 per cent were abandoned, and 6.2 per cent had been previously committed to the State Department of Public Welfare from other counties and were sent to the Augusta County Board to be placed.

Ages of Placed Children

Comparison of the ages at which the children were placed is significant in connection with the location of the homes in which they were placed. 2.4 per cent of the children were under one year of age when placed. The older child is easier to place in the country because he is an economic asset. This is just the reverse of what takes place in two urban centers in the State where younger children are easier to place. 61.6 per cent of these are eight years of age and older, and are in homes where the kind of help that can be given by a boy or girl is useful. The child as an economic asset on the farm creates serious problems as will be pointed out later.

TABLE 28

AGE RANGE OF CHILDREN AT TIME OF PLACEMENT

Age	Number	Per cent distribution
Under 1 year	4	2.4
1 year	4	2.4
2 years	9	5.6
3 years	5	3.1
4 years	6	3.7
5 years	13	8.1
6 years	9	5.6
7 years	12	7.5
8 years	20	12.5
9 years	16	9.9
10 years	17	10.6
11 years	11	6.8
12 years	17	10.6
13 years	6	3.7
14 years	12	7.5
Total	161	100.0

The number of children placed according to color and sex was:

White:	
Boys	82
Girls	61
Colored:	
Boys	15
Girls	3

Out of the 161 children, the number of colored children placed in homes is in keeping with the proportion of colored population to white. The percentage of colored children placed is 11 per cent; the colored population is 13 per cent of the total.

Mental Characteristics of Parents of Placed Children

Adequate information as to the mental characteristics of parents is not available for this group of 161 children. In fourteen cases or 8.7 per cent of the children, the parents were so obviously feeble-minded that no tests were needed to establish the fact. There seems to be evidence of emotional instability in a large number of families, but no tests are available on this point. This statement is based upon case histories of some of the families and the checking of the family names of the children with the school register of those families that have retarded children in school. While retardation is not necessarily evidence of mental defect, yet, where eleven to fifteen year old children are still in the first grade, there is at least some indication of

backwardness not wholly due to non-school attendance. Further study should be made of schooling, family histories, and the eugenics of the families, to determine fully the mental characteristics of parents of placed children.

Children of Illegitimate Birth

Seventeen children or 10.8 per cent of the children were illegitimate. For the most part these children were taken from their mothers while in infancy. This does not mean that the Board fostered illegitimacy by making it possible to dispose of babies easily. An attempt is always made to keep mothers and babies together at least during the early months of the nursing period if the mother is physically and mentally fit to care for the baby. In most cases the mothers were so neglectful that the babies were placed to save their lives.

Conditions under Which Children Were Removed from Their Homes

The underlying factors that lead to a child becoming a charge of the State is difficult to determine except on the basis of careful study. In the present instance, the major conditions in the homes have been ascertained, but no attempt has been made to analyze these factors in relation to the direct causes for the removal of the children from their homes. However, an effort is made to present the major elements as they appeared in the 312 families from which 607 children were removed by the County Board of Public Welfare and placed in other homes or institutions. It is recognized that there is no one factor, but a combination of circumstances that brings about the breakdown of the home. Conditions in families at time of commitment of children are as follows:

	Per cent
Illness and accident	27
Poverty and laziness	22
Immorality	15
Children neglected	8
Non-support	6
Desertion	5
Feeble-minded	4
Drunkenness	4
Divorce	3
Cruelty to children	2
Lack of parental control	2
Insanity	1
Criminal parents	1

From the foregoing figures it is apparent that illness and accident,

poverty and immorality were the conditions most frequently present which caused the crisis in the family leading to the removal of the children. More than one of these unfavorable conditions might exist in the home at the same time. Indeed, illness and laziness frequently lead to poverty, and poverty to immorality, and so on. There can be no one factor. In the above listing of factors, no recognition is given to the spatial distribution of the 312 families. A spot map indicates that the families come from the sections of the county or community, economically poor. Neither are the important eugenic aspects of the families considered.

Problems in Placement

To place a child to the best advantage, there is need for knowledge of the child's past life, habits which have been developed, his mental capacity, and his physical condition. Lack of such information may create serious problems detrimental to the interest of the child and his foster parents.

The problems confronting the Board in the placement of children may be considered under three headings: first, the child; second, the foster parents; and third, the community.

The child: As a general proposition, it was found that a child with a normal background of family conditions could be placed successfully but where the family background was poor, children were hard to adjust. That is, children coming out of homes broken up because of accident or sickness were much easier to place than those coming from homes broken up because of mere poverty and immorality.

Bad disposition and personal habits caused considerable trouble in placing children. Any number of children were returned due to sulkiness, temper, and personal habits.

Fitting the child to the individual home is quite difficult. Three subnormal boys were placed in one home where remarkable progress has taken place. These boys could not have been placed in any other homes. The woman understands such children and has succeeded in training the three boys and making them useful.

The foster parents: The aim in securing a home for a child is to secure foster parents who desire a child for the child's own sake. A study of the age when the children were placed indicates that they are considered an economic asset, particularly since it is easier to place the older ones. This has constituted one of the chief difficulties of the Board since application for a child is made primarily for the

purpose of securing a worker. This results in overwork and lack of proper recreation for the child.

The general attitude of foster parents towards life is an important question. They may be able economically to care for the child, but because of their attitude toward life, it is inadvisable to let the child go to the home.

Maintaining close connection between the child, the foster parents, and the child's own parents seems to be a sound principle, when the child's own parents are not immoral or otherwise exert an unwholesome influence. As a general principle, it is good, but visits of parents and relatives have caused much dissatisfaction on the part of both children and foster parents: Thus it has seemed best to limit the contact of children with parents and relatives.

It has been found in many cases that visits by parents or relatives to the foster home are detrimental to the interest of the child. The general policy has been adopted of not permitting contact of the child's family with the home in which he is placed. Visits seem to create dissatisfaction. This is especially true with older children. Children from the better homes were more satisfactory in regard to visits. However, since the children here considered were not removed from the county when placed, frequent opportunities are presented to see parents, relatives or someone from the home neighborhood.

The community: The local opportunities which may offer helpful assistance to the foster family in matters of education, religious training, recreation and companions for children are well known by the Board. Sometimes it is difficult to secure necessary advantages.

Community conditions such as poor educational facilities, unfit the home for placing a child. Neighbors may talk and create a condition unwholesome for the proper development of the child. Opportunities for right leisure-time companions may be lacking. Community attitudes are important in successful placement of children.

Difficulties Leading to Replacement

Difficulties arise in finding satisfactory homes for children either because a home does not prove to be what was anticipated or because the child was unsatisfactory to those with whom he was placed. The reasons, real and imaginary, on account of which children are replaced are many. When one considers the former surroundings of most of the children, the difficulties of securing homes, the limited supervision, it is not perhaps to be wondered at that 139 or 22.9 per cent of the County Board of Public Welfare's children are replaced.

In the early years few children were replaced, but as the years go on there is an increasing number that need new homes. That is due to the necessity of readjusting some of the children placed in the early years of the Board's work. While some of the children have never been replaced, some have been placed four or five times, and finally had to be sent to the State Department of Public Welfare.

Some of the factors which caused the County Board to replace children are:

1. Educational advantages. A child was placed in a home where there was a one-room school, which he outgrew. In order to give the child educational advantages, it was necessary to remove him to another family where he could secure proper schooling.

2. Death in the foster family many times means the removal of the child, because the other foster parent finds it impossible to care properly for the child.

3. Visits of relatives may make the child so dissatisfied that the only course to pursue is one of removal.

4. Neighbors talk and for the good of the child another home has to be found.

5. The child may turn out to be mentally defective and require institutional care.

6. Behavior of the child is such that foster parents are unable to manage him. The child becomes restless and dissatisfied. He wants to see the world, to make a change, or to work for wages with the result that replacement must be made in order to effect an adjustment.

7. Financial reverses in the foster family may call for removal.

8. Conflict and discord in the foster family makes a change necessary.

The factors causing removals as indicated in the foregoing list (there are doubtless others) are varied. In some instances the child is at fault. In other cases the foster parents fail to give the boy or girl a fair chance to make good. In still other instances the lack of permanence is due to the methods employed in the placements. While some children are hard to manage and some foster parents rub children the wrong way, thus bringing out their sulkiness, temper, deceitfulness, and untruthfulness, there remains the fact that a more detailed study of the homes in advance would be advantageous.

The extent to which it is necessary to remove children from homes in which they were first placed is given in the following figures:

Year	Number placed	Number replaced
1916	45	
1917	66	
1918	137	
1919	113	26
1920	53	16
1921	61	9
1922	48	18
1923	23	17
1924	16	15
1925	31	23
1926	14	15
Total	607	139

Supervision after Placement

The problem of the supervision of the foster home of children is no small task. The contact of the Board with the foster family consists of letters and occasional visits to the office on the part of the foster family, and an occasional visit of the staff to the foster home. The usual course in the case of trouble in foster homes seems to be to remove the child from the home, but not until every opportunity has been exhausted to adjust the difficulties. The necessity of visiting the foster homes in a rural county is perhaps not so great as in an urban environment. The mere fact of distance and type of organization creates the difference. The territory in which children are placed is limited, families are known, and the local opportunities which may offer helpful assistance to the foster family is general information. The County Board is a county organization caring for county children. The problem of supervision is different from that in a State organization caring for children.

Children Returned to Their Own Homes

It is the policy of the Board to restore children to their own homes when it appears to the best interest of the child. In the case of 128 children or 21 per cent of the 607, the children were returned to their own homes. In some instances the removal from the parental home was such as to demand temporary care and after the family crisis the children could be returned. Factors discovered in the restoration of children were: health of mother restored, mother remarried, children old enough to support family, home re-established because father is able to work, parents moved to suitable surroundings. Invariably the children who were returned to their own homes came from families that were broken up because of sickness, accident, and temporary poverty due to circumstances which overwhelmed the family.

More might be said. The Augusta County adventure in the public care of children points the way for county units in devising programs for the public care of children outside of institutions. While many questions are still unsolved as to organization and methods of work, this fact remains: a county government has accepted the responsibility for the care of dependent, destitute, and neglected children without the necessity of providing institutional care or placing the burden upon the State or other child placing agencies.

CHAPTER VII

Care of Children — Institutional

Early Virginia Legislation

THE system of institutional care of children in Virginia is a direct descendant of the old English practices. In the seventeenth century the workhouse, besides caring for old people, provided for the trade education of youths of apprenticeship age who were committed to the institution in order that they might take part in the simple industrial activities carried on, and thus contribute to their support. They were given a small amount of training in such occupations as carding, spinning, knitting, and stocking making, but little instruction was given beyond that of the manual type.

As the problem of dependent children increased, the possibility of using the workhouse as a means of trade education was given greater recognition by the authorities. In the seventeenth century two attempts were made by the General Assembly to establish them with this in mind. In 1646 the first workhouse legislation was passed providing in some detail for the establishment of a "flax house" at Jamestown to which children were to be sent from the different counties, there to be instructed and employed in "carding, knitting, and spinning" under such masters or mistresses as should be appointed. Children of "such parents who by reason of their proverty are disabled to maintaine and educate them" were to be taken. The provisions of the 1646 statute are as follows:

"An act impowering countie courts to build worke houses assisted by vestrie.

"Whereas, Sundry laws and statutes by act of parliament established, have with great wisdome ordained, for the better educateing of youth in honest and profitable trades and manufactures, as also to avoid sloath and idleness wherewith such young people are easily corrupted, as also for releife of such parents whose poverty extends not to give them breeding, That the justices of peace should at their discretion, bind out children to tradesmen or husbandmen to be brought up in some good and lawful calling. And whereas God Almighty, among many his other blessings, hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony, who now are multiplied to a considerable number, who if instructed in good and lawfull trades may much improve the honor and reputation of the country, and noe lesse their owne good and their parents comfort: But foreasmuch as for the most part the parents, either through fond indulgence or perverse obstinacy, are most averse

and unwilling to parte with their children, *Be it therefore inacted by authorities of this Grand Assembly,* according to the aforesaid laudable custom in the kingdom of England, That the commissioners of the severall counties respectively do, at their discretion, make choice of two children in each county of the age of eight or seaven years at least, eigher male or female, which are to be sent up to James City between this and June next to be employed in the public flax houses knitting and spinning, etc. And that the said children be furnished from the said county with sixe barrels of corne, two coverletts, or one rug and one blankett: One bed, one wooden bowle or tray, two pewter spoones, a sow shote of six months old, two laying hens, with convenient apparell both linen and woolen, with hose and shooes. And for the better provision of howseing for the said children, *It is inacted,* That there be two houses built by the first of April next of forty foot long apeece with good and substantial timber, The houses to be twenty foot broad apeece, eight foot high in the pitche and a stack of brick chimneys standing in the midst of each house, and that they be lofted with sawne boards and made with convenient partitions, And it is further thought fitt that the commissioners not take up any children but from parents who by reason of their poverty are disabled to maintaine and educate them, *Be it likewise agreed,* That the Governour hath agreed with the Assembly for the sume of 10,000 lb. of tob'o. to be paid him the next crop, to build and finish the said howses in manner and form before expressed." [1]

The act seems to have been one of a series enacted from 1633 to 1696 to further the cultivation of flax and manufacture of linen rather than to care for dependent children. The statute of 1646 was repealed in 1661-62 without having been put into effect.[2] Its failure was due perhaps to the lack of success in raising flax up to the time of its repeal, to the lack of further legislative regulations dealing with its execution, to the care of dependent children through a system of apprenticeship, and to the provision of the new legislation of 1668. This act of 1668 had the same general intent as the earlier law, but provision was made for the establishment of a number of county-parish institutions. Wool and hemp in addition to flax are mentioned as commodities with which children were to work.[3]

In Virginia legislative efforts to set up workhouses for the purpose of giving trade education were not made until 1755, when an act resembling the English law of 1722 was passed. This law provided for their establishment as a part of the attempt of the colony to decrease its poor relief problem. Vestries were to care for the education of the poor children who were committed to the parish.[4] While the law of

1. Henning, I, 336-337.
2. Henning, II, p. 43.
3. Henning, II, 266 (1668).
4. Henning, II, p. 475.

1755 contemplated merely the education of the few little children who might be cared for in each of the workhouses before the time of their apprenticeship, probably at the age of six or seven, the intention of the joint committee's report for the enactment of the law apparently was to establish a kind of boarding school for improperly cared for children whether or not they were dependent.

Endowed Parish Schools

Some mention should be made of the endowed parish schools in Colonial Virginia as a means of institutional care of children. The primary purpose of the founders of these endowed schools was to provide education for poor children. For example, the will of Benjamin Syms provided that two hundred acres of land in the county and parish of Elizabeth City which he owned, together with the milk and increase of eight milk cows, should be given for the maintenance of a learned, honest man, to keep upon the said ground a free school for the education and instruction of the children of the adjoining parishes of Elizabeth City and Kiquotan.

It was further stipulated that when there should be a sufficient increase of the said cattle, part of them should be sold, and the money raised by such sale, laid out in building a schoolhouse, and the residue of the said increase, after the school master should have a sufficient stock, should be applied towards repairing the said house, and maintaining poor children or decayed or maimed persons.[5] "In the case of the Farnefold, Sandford, and Mattey schools this is specifically stated as the intention.[6] Children in better class families as well as those whose parents could not afford to pay for their tuition commonly received instruction in them. Up to 1775 there were nine endowed parish schools in Colonial Virginia.[7] The number of poor children cared for by them is unknown.

Almshouse Care of Children

The almshouse from its earliest day down to the present[8] time has served as a place for caring for children. The practice of keeping the young in almshouses during infancy and early childhood was due to the lack of other means of institutional child care. It increased with the building of more almshouses, and became a menace so great as to

5. Henning, VI, p. 389.
6. Wells, Guy Fred, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, 1923, p. 53.
7. Wells, Guy Fred, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, 1923, p. 48.
8. Children in the almshouses of today are in temporarily—usually only long enough to make a proper adjustment for them.

constitute one of the primary sources of pauperization in the Virginia community. The gathering of many children in the almshouses served to call attention to the need of some positive action by the public to improve childhood by protecting the health and morals of the young. The almshouse was so constructed that it was impossible to remove the children from contact with the vicious. The evil continued to grow, not only in the numbers of children demanding care and correction as the population increased, but also from the way by which the county left the almshouse to the management of overseers and superintendents of the poor. Children in the almshouse came in intimate personal contact with the most degraded tramps, drunkards, prostitutes, criminals, feeble-minded, and insane. The story of the institutional care of children by the almshouse remains to be told. Perhaps it is best that it never be told.

Basic Considerations in Institutional Care

Institutions for dependent and neglected children developed early in the history of the State in response to definite local needs for the care of destitute children. While the children's institutions in the counties studied are recent, the date for the founding of kindred institutions in the State began in 1802. It has come to be recognized that

"the purpose of an institution for dependent children should be to care for children who can not be provided for properly in their own homes or for whose care a particular institution is better adapted than any other available agency. Sometimes the care provided by the institution is temporary, pending arrangement for care in a foster-home or during a time of emergency, after which the child is returned to his own relatives. In other cases the institution provides for children for more or less prolonged periods. Just what types of service need to be developed by institutions and what changes must be made in existing methods are matters for study. . . The institution for children that is meeting its problems in accordance with modern ideals of social service recognizes its part in the whole program of social-welfare work. It should be closely linked up with other social welfare agencies. Its interests cannot be dissociated from the interests of all other organizations doing local or state-wide work in the field of family relief or child care and protection. In social policy the day is past for the isolated institution; that is, the institution, large or small, which receives under care any child brought to it in presumable need, with no sense of responsibility for finding out what are the conditions that led to the application for aid and what action will best solve the child's problem." [9]

9. Children's Bureau Publication, No. 170, 1927, p. 3. Handbook for the use of Boards of Directories, Superintendents and Staffs of Institutions for dependent children.

The way in which an institution may carry out its obligation to protect the rights of the children who come to its attention is largely determined by the character of the community and the resources that exist for the various forms of service to families and children. If the agencies do not exist for the removal of the underlying causes of dependency, ill-health and maladjustment then there is greater need for the institution to expand its own activities in order that proper services may be provided. Extra-institutional activities are to be undertaken only after the most careful consideration of the necessity for it.

Buildings, equipment, and grounds are but means to an end. The end sought is to give to the child the spiritual, educational, and emotional values of a normal home. After all the spirit of the institution is dependent upon the personalities and ideals of those in charge of its affairs. While buildings are important, the social and spiritual training of children, the development of good habits, and the inculcation of high ideals are matters of greatest importance to the child.

An institution which opens its doors to children obligates itself to consider what is best for their development. It has not only the task of the physical care of the child while in its midst, but a larger one should be the chief aim—that is, do everything possible to fit the child for life outside the institution. Children in an institution need to have as many contacts in the community as it is possible to give them. Children should not be regarded as a group apart from the community. When the child leaves the institution an environment that will assure the best possible opportunity for future development should be selected for the individual child. Children who pass through the care of a home should be trained to measure up to life's responsibilities and become assets to the community. The problem of helping the child in an institution grow up to normal manhood or womanhood is one of the most perplexing problems in the social field. The normal institution, the family, has been taken away and quite an artificial one substituted. The policy to be pursued by a community perhaps should be that no child should go to an institution unless absolutely essential nor remain a day longer than necessary if changed conditions in the home, or in the homes of relatives, make possible his care outside.

Acceptance of a child by an institution is a serious responsibility for the parents, the child, and the institution's superintendent. The community challenges the parents who too easily relieve themselves of the care of their offspring. And yet they may have gone through

a long period of stress, reflection, and doubt before coming to the point of parting with their children. The institution should not exist to give immediate admission to all children who seek to enter. Some of the policies which should govern admission may be set forth as follows: (1) The admission policy should involve at least three main factors: the needs of the group to be served, the resources of the community, and the type of work to be undertaken. (2) Every child should be regarded as a member of a family group whose integrity is of importance both to the child and to society. To regard the child as an isolated unit is to remain ignorant of the social, economic, physical, and mental conditions of the family as well as the child himself. (3) A thorough investigation of applicants for admission is essential to any well-conducted institution. No child should be accepted on the mere statement of parents without thorough investigation because the step is a critical one in the life of the child which will effect his entire outlook on life and his relations to society. Only by having all the facts can institutions take into their care those that should not be taken by anybody, or for whom better places are not available. (4) No child should be considered for admission until something is known of his relatives' ability and willingness to care for him. Contact with relatives should be made at the start, not after the child has been in the institution for months. Relatives can be helpful in giving information concerning family history, and by active coöperation in carrying out a plan for the child's future. Family histories are essential so far as the care of the child is concerned. With no facts regarding the family life and environment of the home from which the child came, there is little chance to do constructive work. (5) A determined effort should be made to adjust the child with his own family satisfactorily. Financial aid may be the chief thing required to keep the family intact. It may be best for the institution to use institutional funds to maintain children in their own homes. (6) After the child is admitted a systematic follow-up should be made. Investigations should be continued at intervals to see if the child can be taken care of outside of the institution. Changed circumstances among parents or relatives may justify their being urged to take the child. Even though this is impossible relatives should be consulted about the child for they must still think about the child and its future. (7) The facts collected must be considered carefully and a plan made for the child and his family. (8) Every child admitted to the institution should have a thorough physical examination. (9) Information should be procured which will tell

something of the child's mental and moral development and his general behavior.[10]

Present-Day Institutional Care

There are five institutions, located in three counties, for the care of dependent children in the six counties studied. All of the institutions are under private control and management. One, the Miller School, founded in 1878, is endowed. The Orphans' Home is the only one under religious auspices and was started in 1905. The Hayes Children's Memorial, a colored home, was organized in 1910; the Home for Homeless Children in 1919; and the Oakdale Children's Home in 1926.

The children coming to the institutions are largely from the county in which the Home is located. In the case of the two institutions in Albemarle, they are exclusively for children of the county. The institution under church auspices cares for children from a larger territory than the county in which it is located, but at the present time only two children are from outside of the county.

In no case are delinquent children as such cared for in these homes. The juvenile court uses three of the homes as a place of care for dependent children until adequate provisions can be made for them.

Buildings and Equipment

The Home for Homeless Children of Charlottesville and Albemarle County is located in Charlottesville on a lot 75 by 125 feet. On one side is the railroad yards, on two other sides are business blocks, and a street is on the fourth. While the yard is ample and quite suited for play, little has been done to develop play facilities.

The building is a two-story brick structure built as a family residence. The exterior of the building is in good repair. The interior of the building is neat and well-kept for an old building. The basement contains the dining room, kitchen, pantry, laundry, furnace and coal room. While it is the best that can be done under present circumstances, the basement is not adapted to serve as dining room and kitchen for children. It lacks sunshine, light and good air.

The first floor has six rooms and bath—two bedrooms, play room, room for matron, and two living rooms. On the second floor there are eight rooms and bath—five bedrooms, an infirmary, room for the matron, and living room. The boys are on the first floor and the girls on the second. The sleeping rooms, though bare, are in good order.

10. See Children's Bureau Publication, No. 170, 1927.

much could be done to give them a more home-like appearance by the use of a few pictures and small rugs. There are no closets in the sleeping rooms.

The Miller Manual Labor School was founded in 1878. The grounds consist of 1,800 acres. The lawn embraces about fifty acres on which are the residence of the superintendent, the four story shop building, the gymnasium and laundry, the main school building, the two large physical and chemical laboratories, Longley Hall, the building for girls and boys of the primary department, and other outbuildings.

The donor of the school, Samuel Miller, who made his will in 1857 and died in 1869, left an estate of $1,230,150.92 which has increased to $1,449,001.33 and has an annual income of $88,943.42. At first only boys were admitted but in 1884 girls were also admitted. After the 1928-29 session only boys are to be received.

The Oakdale Children's Home is located some twelve miles from Staunton in the country on a five-acre tract of land. The location is well suited for the development of an ideal temporary home for children. There is plenty of shade and room for the development of all kinds of outdoor activities.

The building consists of a two-story frame structure and a bungalow attached. The two-story building has one large room upstairs and one downstairs, both used as dormitories. There are nine rooms in the bungalow. The rooms in both buildings are cheerful and well lighted but there is only one bath for all. The dining room with tables for five has a pleasant, home-like appearance.

The Hayes Children's Memorial was started in 1910, and is located one mile out of Staunton on the National Highway on an eleven-acre tract of land. The yard is without shade trees and there is no play equipment. The main building is a two-story stucco building. In the basement are the dining room, kitchen, furnace and storage rooms. The first floor has a large assembly room, bedroom and large hall from which the stairs lead to the second floor. On the second floor there are four large bedrooms. Attached to this new building is an old one-story lean-to with four rooms used primarily for the boys.

The Orphans' Home, a two-story frame building is located just outside a small town. Built as a family residence, the building has been adapted for the care of children. Sleeping quarters are on the second floor, while dining room, kitchen, living room and a bedroom are on the first floor. The yard is ample and well shaded.

Number of Dependent Children

How many dependent children should a county take care of in institutions? The information summarized in table 29 is the best answer to the question that could be secured under present conditions. The figures give the number of dependent children in institutions in the three counties.

TABLE 29

CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS BY SEX

County	Boys	Girls	Total
Albemarle			
Home for Homeless Children	12	11	23
Miller Manual Labor School	70	65	135
Augusta			
Oakdale Children's Home	6	7	13
Hayes Children's Memorial	16	19	35
Rockingham			
Orphans' Home	5	6	11
Total	109	108	217

In the three counties with a population totaling 118,000 there are 217 children in institutions. This is an average of 1.85 children per thousand population or 4.49 per thousand of the child population 17 years of age and under.

Social Policies

The object of all the homes is to provide care for dependent and neglected children. The Home for Homeless Children began in 1919 following the ravages of the influenza epidemic which left many children without some one to care for them. The first day the Home was opened, fourteen children were received. Children are accepted up to 12 years of age. "The policy of the institution is to care for destitute children, for orphans or those who are so unfortunate as to live under conditions degrading and unfit for normal development." Some of the children are in the institution awaiting arrangements to be sent to the Children's Home Society, the State Department of Public Welfare, or the Blue Ridge Industrial School. While the Home aims to give temporary care, records indicate that children remain for rather long periods. Thus thirteen out of twenty-three in the institution June 30th, 1927, had been in one year or more. Two had been in five years, and six three years.

The Miller Manual Labor School began in 1878. It was to be a

school for "poor orphan children, and other white children whose parents are unable to educate them." Instruction was to be in "all the branches of a good, sound English education, the various languages, both ancient and modern, agriculture, and the useful arts, and wholly free of expense to the pupils." Children are accepted who have passed the third grade and may remain until the four years of high school have been completed.

The Oakdale Children's Home began in 1926. It is used as a clearing house for children of Augusta County for whom a home needs to be found. The policy is to give temporary care. Children come to the Home who are unplaceable in their present condition. Training is given in habits and manners fitting them for foster homes. The longest time for any one child in the Home was a year and the shortest six days. Unplaceable children are not accepted.

The Hayes Children's Memorial was started in 1910 for three colored children who had no place to go and were taken in by a kind-hearted woman. Since that time over a hundred children have been in the Home. While the institution exists primarily for neglected and destitute children, some are also taken whose parents or relatives work and who place them in the Home and contribute to their support. A considerable number of the children are mentally below normal.

The Orphans' Home belongs to the Church of the Brethren. Its purpose is "to take care of, provide for, obtain homes for and educate such orphans, giving them such training and education as in the discretion of the trustees of the corporation may be deemed most advisable." While it is a denominational home, children are taken regardless of religious affiliation.

Applications for admission to the institutions are made direct to the matron in charge or to the president of the Board of Managers in all but the Miller School, where they are made to the County School Board. While commitments to one of the institutions should involve court proceedings, it is done in but few cases. In the institutions, with one exception, there is no thorough, reliable investigation made before the child is received for care. In none of the institutions is there a person employed for this service who is trained to do thorough social investigation. The result is that the institutions have often very little information concerning the child, his parents, his social and biological background. Use is not made of printed application blanks in securing data relative to the child. Beyond the parental status, seldom is any information gathered as to the make-up of the family. The brothers and sisters are in many cases unknown and relatives are

seldom mentioned. In all but one institution the recording of the information is left to the matron in charge. For others than those in charge of the institution, it would be difficult to secure any information beyond a few simple facts and what one could obtain from the child himself. There is a striking lack of information concerning the children admitted to the institutions. A real understanding upon which to build a contructive plan for the child does not obtain in any real sense.

The utmost care is needed at the very outset of an institution's contact with the child and his family in order to understand and evaluate the situation. The institution must be careful to take only those children who are unable to profit by care in some other way.

In none of the institutions is the practice followed of keeping children for any definite length of time. The stipulation at the outset of the definite number of years a child is to remain under care, is recognized as unwise and often unjust to the child or to his family. There is no logic in refusing the return of her children to a mother who has once been forced by circumstances to ask aid, after she is again able and anxious to care for them. To return a child to the care of his own people whenever conditions may have become adjusted so that it is a possible and a happy solution for the child, is giving him only what is his natural heritage. The Miller School being primarily an educational institution, children are discharged when they are unable to profit by the instruction given or at the time they have completed the course of instruction. The practice in the other institutions is to provide for the children outside of the home whenever opportunity offers. There is no age limit as to when children are to be discharged. Many of the children are returned to parents or relatives who find themselves able to care for them. In no case in an age limit the determining factor in the length of time the child shall remain in the institution.

Since none of the institutions have a member of their staff who is trained to do child placing work, or who has the necessary time for investigation of the foster home or for supervision of the child when placed, a great deal must depend on fortunate circumstances in the proper placing of children. It would be advantageous to have means other than hearsay or correspondence in determining whether or not the home chosen is proving suitable. It is not always safe to take for granted that if no complaint is made the child is getting along all right. Even reporting at definite intervals by foster parents is not sufficient to guarantee satisfactory results.

Commitment to one of the institutions is quite undefined except in

the case of the Miller School where the children are passed upon by the School Board of the County and the circuit judge. In some institutions an informal agreement is signed by the parents in regard to payments or other conditions. Court commitments are used in certain other cases. For the most part the agreement between the institution and the parents or guardian is little more than enough to clarify understanding as to the institution's authority over the child as long as it remains within the institution. In the case of some children no agreement is made.

The discharge of a child from one of the institutions rests largely upon sentiment, rather than upon a large body of facts about the child and his family. The Miller School discharges a child when the instruction is no longer profitable or when the course has been completed. One Home seeks to place some of its children in another institution when they reach the age of twelve. No fixed policy is followed by the colored Home. Oakdale seeks to be a service station for the county, discharge taking place as soon as the child can be placed in a foster home. The other two institutions discharge when they can in the best way possible.

The condition of a child's dismissal requires even more thought and attention than his admission. It should always mean, among other things, a thorough preparation for life under normal conditions. When a child leaves an institution, an environment that will assure the best possible opportunity for future development should be selected. Children passing through the care of a home should be trained to measure up to life's responsibilities and become assets to the community into which they go; the problem of helping a child in an institution grow up to normal manhood or womanhood is one of the most perplexing problems in the welfare field.

The care within the institutions varies with the institution. How far are the children in these institutions being given the care and training that develops healthy bodies, initiative and independence of thought, self-reliance in conduct, and the power of discipline? How far are the children getting training in emotional expression? Are they getting the individual affection and understanding and the feeling of home that every child needs? In general the children give the appearance of being healthy. In none of the institutions has there been any serious sickness for several years. This is perhaps due more to good fortune than forethought, for in only one institution is careful attention given to the health of the child. The matter of health is handled

in a very casual way. The diet provided and the health supervision are such as to develop healthy children, if they are so constituted.

Medical examinations at the time of admission are casual. Usually these examinations do not extend beyond the determination of the existence of contagious disease. The practice of giving regular medical examinations does not obtain except in the Miller School. The necessity for a thorough knowledge of the child's physical condition is quite evident. Hospital and isolation facilities are not available.

In all but the Miller School, children are sent to the public school in the neighborhood. This practice is commendable since it gives the child the advantage of social contacts with other children who are living in a different and normal environment.

Three of the institutions make provisions for recreation, but even in these more equipment for play is quite desirable. Organized play and social activities are lacking. Few toys and materials suitable to the age of the children are available. Play is part of the learning process itself and should be as carefully planned as any other phase of institutional activity.

In none of the institutions is there training in the economic phases of life. Ownership of toys and pets, opportunity to earn small amounts of money as their own is lacking. If children, on returning to communities, have not learned the value of ownership and that it depends upon labor, they are seriously handicapped in adjustment to community life.

One institution provides its own church services. The others use the church facilities in the neighborhood. Whenever possible the children attend the church of their choice instead of having them all attend the same one in a body.

Diet

Many of the children who come to the institutions are under-nourished. One of the objectives of the institutions is to so build up the child that he can be placed in a foster home. It is for this as well as other reasons that the diet is most important.

Since the well-being and future development of children are vitally affected by the quality and quantity of foods, an adequate diet requires menus based on their needs. The menus which are given were obtained from two institutions for a period covering a week, and are for the week of June 5, 1927.

Sunday

Breakfast		Dinner		Supper	
Beef steak Gravy Pan cakes Syrup	Cereal and cream Liver Biscuit, butter Milk (glass)	Chicken soup with vegetables Rice pudding	Roast, two vegetables Sliced bread Ice cream and cake	Pie Cake Jelly or fruit	Milk Fruit Bread and butter Hash and gravy
Monday					
Chip beef Gravy Milk	Cereal and cream Hash Hot biscuit and butter, milk	Kale Corn bread Potatoes	String beans Tomatoes Corn bread	Preserves Eggs	Milk (glass) Fruit Bread and butter
Tuesday					
Eggs Bacon Cream of wheat Milk	Cereal and cream Fried apples Bread and butter Glass of milk	Snaps and potatoes Stewed tomatoes	Peas, corn, tomatoes Corn bread (Drink water)	Cottage cheese Strawberry short cake Scrambled eggs	Milk, Fruit Bread and butter
Wednesday					
Country ham Brown gravy Eggs Oatmeal	Cereal and cream Eggs Bread and butter Milk	Beef soup with vegetables	Cabbage, potatoes, tomatoes Corn bread	Radish Lettuce Hot rolls Butter	Milk Fruit Bread and butter
Thursday					
Club beef Gravy Cottage cheese Cream of wheat	Cereal and cream Cream gravy Bread and butter Milk	Rice pudding Roast beef Mashed potatoes	Stew (beef) Macaroni Peas Corn bread	Croquettes Raw tomatoes Apple roll	Milk Fruit Bread and butter
Friday					
Omelet Hominy Cream of wheat	Cereal and cream Hash (beef) Bread and butter Milk	Cabbage Ham Potatoes Corn bread	String beans or cabbage Potatoes Corn bread	Stewed potatoes Hot rolls Butter Lettuce	Milk Fruit Bread and butter
Saturday					
Beef and gravy Corn flakes Cottage cheese	Cereal and cream Fried apples Bread and butter Milk	Pea soup with dumplings Celery Onions	Beans, corn, tomatoes Corn bread	Apple pie Butter Butter milk Eggs	Milk Fruit Bread and butter

The best practice is to plan the menus in advance on the basis of certain general principles which may be stated as follows:[11]

1. The minimun quantity of whole milk recommended for each child each day is a pint and a half, though a quart is desirable.
2. Eggs should be served three or four times a week or oftener.
3. Vegetables should be provided liberally.
4. Fruits should be served at least once a day.
5. At least part of the bread served should be whole wheat, graham, rye, or corn bread.
6. Meats, fats, sugars, and starches are necessary foods.
7. Serve sweets at end of meal only.
8. Serve real butter each day.

From observation and experience these menus are very much like those which obtain in the homes in the counties represented. There is a lack of balance in the diet as evidenced by the menus. The diet contains too much of what is called the *energy giving foods* and not enough of the *growth-promoting foods.* One of the institutions has a dietitian with the result that the diet is more adequate.

Table 30 shows the source of income for the five children's institutions.

TABLE 30

INCOME BY SOURCES FOR INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN

Albemarle	Contributions	Taxes	Earnings	Endowments	Total
Home for Homeless Children	$4,325.46	.....	$ 854.78	.....	$ 5,180.24 *.140
Miller Manual Labor School	.....	.....	8,819.31	$80,124.11	88,943.42 *2.403
Augusta					
Oakdale Children's Home	125.00	640.00	1,408.00	.....	2,173.00 *.046
Hayes Children's Memorial	1,900.00	.....	1,700.00	.....	3,600.00 *.076
Rockingham					
Orphans' Home	3,328.82	.....	407.59	.....	3,736.41 *.079
Total	$9,679.28	$640.00	$13,189.68	$80,124.11	$103,633.07

*Amount per capita of population of the county in which the institution is located.

11. Handbook for Institutions for dependent children, Children's Bureau, No. 170, 1927, and Child-Caring Institutions, The Ohio Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio, 1925, p. 41, give suggestions as to foods needed.

The cost of service to dependent children in these institutions as secured from (1) contributions, (2) taxes, (3) earnings, and (4) endowments emphasizes the wide difference in practice as to financing such work as well as to the problem of the responsibility for the care of children. Tax funds play a small part in the care of dependent children in institutions. Less than one per cent is derived through taxes. Nine per cent comes through contributions, 13 per cent through earnings and 77 per cent through endowment. Endowment is limited to one institution and if deducted would leave a rather small sum for the institutional care of children in these counties.

Institutional care of children in the counties studied is a recent development. For the most part the emphasis in the institutions is upon child-care rather than child-development. Their methods of intake and discharge need to be reviewed and revised. In general there was no way of obtaining any picture of what the real situation was which led to the application for care or to the decision to discharge a child. There seems to have been very little realization of any need for such a picture and almost no attempt to analyze the situation so as to find the best possible solution for the child. The quality of work of any organization is dependent upon adequate personnel, both as to number and qualifications. More careful attention to this fact may well be given by the supervising agency of the State.

CHAPTER VIII

Mothers' Aid in Wise County

Beginning of Mothers' Aid Work

IN PASSING the Mothers' Aid law in 1918 Virginia gave official recognition to the value of good home care to all normal children and legally assumed the responsibility of insuring this care to the needy, fatherless child. So far the State has made no appropriation to carry out the provisions of the Act. Wise County, however, has made an appropriation for Mothers' Aid. Arlington County has made a beginning and the City of Richmond has for some time carried on Mothers' Aid work.

Back of the passage of the law and the county appropriation for carrying out its provision, is the conviction that needy fatherless children are a responsibility of the county and can best be protected and safe-guarded, under the influence of a home environment and supervision of their own mothers. There are many mothers with dependent children who cannot maintain their homes without assistance. Further, the idea back of the Mothers' Aid act is that no home should be broken up for poverty alone. Abbott and Breckinridge hold that, "It is against sound public economy to allow poverty alone to cause the separation of a child from the care of a good mother, or to allow the mother so to exhaust her powers in earning a living for her children that she cannot give them proper home care and protection." [1]

In the past some assistance has been given to families by churches, private individuals, and public outdoor relief. From the passage of the first poor relief law in the days of Queen Elizabeth down to the present time, the fundamental idea of governmental poor relief in most communities seems to have been that financial assistance alone would alleviate the family disability. The fundamental idea of Mothers' Aid is that financial assistance is but one part of the attempt to help the family. Financial assistance is but the means of maintaining the integrity of the family, and that through family life aided by personal services, there may be secured the development of character and personality to the end that healthy, efficient, intelligent citizens may be nurtured. In the administration of Mothers' Aid Laws, recognition

1. *The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers' Law in Illinois*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 82, 1921, p. 5.

is given to the fact that material assistance alone does not make a normal family. The father of the family is more than a "breadwinner"; his loss deprives the family of affection and discipline as well as of the means of support. Poor relief gave little recognition to this fact; its goal being material it did not attempt to reconstruct or redirect the hopes and the energies of the family into channels of self-maintenance and stability.

With the organization of the County Board of Public Welfare in Wise County in 1923, the relief work was taken over from the overseers of the poor. Application blanks for Mothers' Aid were in the hands of ministers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, politicians and others who had been distributing them promiscuously throughout the county. The Board of Supervisors on the recommendation of the overseers of the poor, issued the grants each month without any supervision. There were at that time 120 Mothers' Aid clients on the roll. Under the supervision of the Superintendent of Public Welfare the number of clients was cut so that on June 30, 1927, there were only 63. With the reduction of the number of Mothers' Aid cases by nearly 50 per cent, the average amount allowed per month per family increased over 50 per cent. The reasons for discontinuing allowances were: secured employment, re-marriage, husband returned, children came of age, and improper conduct. Contrasted with the relief system maintained by the overseers of the poor where families were carried on and on without any assistance being given beyond the material, the work of the County Board of Public Welfare illustrates the constructive handling of cases under professional direction.

Methods of Making Mothers' Aid Grants

Application for Mothers' Aid is made to the County Board of Public Welfare by any person having knowledge that a child is dependent or in need of public support. The investigation, which is very carefully made in order to establish technical eligibility, follows the procedure of good public welfare agencies. The law says that the Board of Public Welfare

"shall cause to be made an investigation to determine the need of the child, and if it deem necessary, may, for such length of time as the Board may deem proper, order the payment of allowances to the mother within the limits of any appropriation that may have been made for such purpose by the county, in order that the child may be kept in its own home; provided, the child is under sixteen years of age, and the father is dead or in the hospital for the insane, a colony for the

feeble-minded and epileptic, in prison, or is physically incapacitated to earn a living, or is sick for one year, has been legally charged with desertion, or is divorced and the mother has used all lawful means to compel support of the child by its father.

"Sec. 4. Allowances shall be granted only upon the following conditions: (a) The dependent child or children must be living with the mother during the period for which support is provided; (b) the allowance shall be granted only when, in the absence of such allowance, the mother would be required to work regularly away from her home and children, and when by means of such allowance, she would be able to remain at home with her child or children; (c) the mother must be a person morally, mentally and physically fit and competent to have the custody of her children; (d) such allowance shall be necessary to save the child or children from neglect, and to furnish such child or children with suitable education; (e) no person shall receive the benefit of this act who has not resided in the county ONE YEAR and the State TWO YEARS before making application for aid hereunder."[2]

In rural public welfare work in Virginia there is no such agency as the social service exchange through which to clear the name. The preliminary investigation seeks information from schools, churches, fraternal societies, county officials, and individuals. Such facts as marriage of parents, dates of birth of children, death of father, existence of relatives and friends, income, home conditions, health and physical conditions of members of family are ascertained. Investigations take time. Table 31 shows the length of time required for the investigation of 62 applications of the families on the Mothers' Aid list.

TABLE 31

LENGTH OF TIME REQUIRED TO INVESTIGATE ELIGIBILITY OF FAMILIES FOR MOTHERS' AID

Time required for investigation	Families receiving Mothers' Aid	
	Number	Per cent distribution
1 week	20	32.26
2 weeks	15	24.19
3 weeks	11	17.74
1 month	10	16.13
2 months	3	4.84
3 months	3	4.84
	62	100.

These 62 applicants include those families who were under the care

2. Code of Virginia, 1922, Chapter 488.

of the County Board of Public Welfare, June 30, 1927. Data was not available on one case. This list does not include those whose applications were denied. The table shows that 20 or 32.26 per cent of the applicants were granted Mothers' Aid within a week of application. 16 mothers or 25.81 per cent of the applicants waited for one month and over. The time for making the investigation is much shorter than that indicated in the Children's Bureau publication No. 82, "The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois," a study made by Abbott and Breckinridge. Whether the time required for an investigation in a rural situation may well be shorter than in an urban environment is a question. It is true that families are as a rule known to the superintendent even before application is made for Mothers' Aid. The nature and sources of information are more intimate in rural than urban welfare work.

After the investigation by the superintendent of public welfare, a report is presented to the County Board of Public Welfare which determines the approval or disapproval of the granting of the Mothers' Aid application except in emergencies, when the superintendent has authority to act. A thorough medical examination is made by a physician. The medical report is turned over to the County Health Department with the request that all necessary corrections or treatment be given. The service clubs and civic leagues have been very coöperative in paying for corrections in these cases. Records of the County Health Department indicate that many of the children have had tonsils and adenoids removed. Eye defects were corrected. Orthopedic cases received attention. Many children have received dental work as well as chest examinations, inoculations, vaccinations, and general medical examinations.

Once the applicant has been placed on the Mothers' Aid list checks are sent out each month by the superintendent of public welfare, who submits each month to the Board of Supervisors warrants to cover claims. These are examined monthly by the Board, and when approved, are signed by the chairman and the clerk.

The Problem of Supervision

The superintendent of public welfare follows the methods of case work applicable in rural situations, not only in the investigation that precedes the Mothers' Aid grants, but also after the families are placed on the Mothers' Aid list. Careful supervision of all Mothers' Aid families is the policy pursued in order that the public money granted to these families may serve the purpose for which it is ap-

propriated. The kind of supervision at any given time depends largely upon the number of families under care and their character. It has been found that certain families need much more care than others if the grant is to be of any value to the family. Close attention in the beginning saves time and effort later on.

The supervision of the Mothers' Aid family is in the hands of the superintendent of public welfare. In certain cases, he has arranged to have a volunteer assume responsibility for the family under his direction. The relationship to be established between the mother and the superintendent of public welfare is one of coöperation in order that the best possible use may be made of the Mothers' Aid income, and that the other resources of the community may be directed to the needs of the family. Ill health or poor physical conditions are remedied so far as possible. Physicians, the County Health Department and Hospitals extend the necessary service.

Children in the Mothers' Aid families are closely watched as to school attendance and school progress. Each month reports are received as to grade, attendance, deportment and scholarship by the superintendent of public welfare.

TABLE 32

NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED BY 98 FAMILIES TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE FAMILY

Number of persons in family	Number of rooms							Total number of families
	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	
2	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	2
3	....	3	5	6	....	....	....	14
4	2	3	7	4	1	....	....	17
5	....	2	3	6	2	....	1	14
6	....	1	6	10	2	1	....	20
7	....	....	5	5	2	1	....	13
8	....	1	1	3	1	....	....	6
9	....	1	3	4	....	....	....	8
10	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	1
11	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	1
12	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	2
Total	2	12	33	40	8	2	1	98

One of the problems in providing for Mothers' Aid families is to improve living conditions. The standards judged needful by urban agencies do not obtain for the most part with the families who apply

for Mothers' Aid. Many of them have been in extreme poverty for a time prior to the death of the husband and father, and frequently for many months after his death. Standards of living have been gradually lowered so that it is difficult to bring the family up to an adequate level. Data is not available on the question of the improvement in living conditions; but table 32 shows for 98 families the number of rooms in relation to the number in the family.

It is of considerable importance to note that only 22 families out of the 98 have one room or more per person. All families with more than one person to a room fall below the heavy line; 76 families fall below the line. In one instance there are four persons per room, in another three. Such housing standards are serious problems in administering Mothers' Aid.

Discontinuance of Mothers' Aid Grants

Whenever a change in family circumstances has occurred that makes a Mothers' Aid grant undesirable, it is discontinued. Table 33 shows the number of Mothers' Aid grants withdrawn or cancelled with the reason during the period June 1, 1923, to June 30, 1927.

TABLE 33

REASONS FOR DISCONTINUING MOTHERS' AID GRANTS

Reason	Families whose Mothers' Aid grants were discontinued	
	Number	Per cent
Able to support	64	34.23
Married	29	15.51
Moved from county	29	15.51
Questionable character	16	8.56
No children under 16 years	12	6.42
No coöperation	10	5.35
Only one child under 16 years	9	4.81
Husband returned	9	4.81
Disorderly house	3	1.60
Deceased	3	1.60
Not located	3	1.60
	187	100.

The reasons given for the discontinuance of Mothers' Aid grants are not always clear. Some were dropped because they no longer needed the assistance. Thus 64 families, or 34.23 per cent came to the place where they were able to support themselves. 29 widows, or 15.51 per cent, re-married. Other families failed to come up to the standards set by the Board of Public Welfare. For example, the

mother refused to coöperate with the superintendent in maintaining a proper home or proper care for the children.

The mother's refusal to coöperate means that she is unwilling to take those steps which in the judgment of the superintendent of public welfare are essential to the proper care of her children. In other cases aid was granted on the basis of inadequate investigation. Sometimes the case seems so needy that aid is extended at once, but further investigation reveals that the mother does not come within the provision of the regulations set by the Board of Public Welfare.

One of the most important facts brought out in table 33 is that 64 mothers, or 34.23 per cent of those cases, were discontinued because circumstances in the family changed to such an extent that they could provide for themselves. Whether the changed circumstances came about through the supervision of the superintendent or the greater assistance given by relatives it is impossible to determine.

From June 1, 1926, to July 1, 1927, 38 Mothers' Aid applications were disapproved. The disapprovals were for the following reasons: No legal residence—4, relatives able to support—5, failure of family to coöperate in working out a plan—1, no children under 16 years—4, receives compensation—3, non-resident—5, able to support family—2, children able to support—2, only one child—3, husband in prison—1, questionable character—1, moved to another state—1, did not come within law—2, illegitimate child—1, unable to locate—1. Of course many mothers never make an application when they discover the standards they must maintain on receiving a Mothers' Aid grant.

Mothers' Aid Grants

A question of interest and importance in Mothers' Aid work is the adequacy of the grants. The law of 1922 left the amount of the aid to be given to be determined by the agency administering the law without any minimum or maximum amount being set. The amount of the aid granted is determined by such circumstances as the number and ages of the children, the supplementary resources available, and the health of the family, especially of the mother. A budget is prepared for the family and on the basis of the budget the amount to be given is determined.

The data available gives the monthly aid per family. In order to determine how far the aid granted furnished adequate relief, information is needed showing the number of Mothers' Aid allowances of definite amounts that have been granted, together with the number of members in the family, and the total income of the family. An

attempt has been made, therefore, to collect such data. Table 34 shows the number of families receiving pensions of specified amounts from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, together with the number of children 16 years of age and under in the family. This same table gives the number of families and the amount of aid granted to them per month.

TABLE 34

NUMBER OF FAMILIES RECEIVING MOTHERS' AID OF SPECIFIED AMOUNTS—JULY 1, 1926-JUNE 30, 1927—TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH FAMILY

Number of children in family 16 years and under		Families receiving Mothers' Aid of specified amounts											
		$5	$7	$9	$10	$11	$12	$13	$14	$15	$17	$20	$30
1 child.....	3	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
2 children..	26	4	9	4	6	....	....	1	....	....	....	1	1
3 "	22	....	4	8	1	1	1	2	2	3	....	....	....
4 "	27	....	1	1	....	17	....	5	....	1	1	1	....
5 "	17	....	....	....	....	1	....	11	....	2	....	3	....
6 "	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....
7 "	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	....
Total.....	98	5	16	13	7	19	1	19	2	6	2	7	1
Per cent	100	5.10	16.33	13.27	7.14	19.39	1.02	19.39	2.02	6.12	2.02	7.14	1.02

The allowances to the families are for the most part not mere doles. The largest number of families, in any one group (19 each) received $11.00 and $13.00 a month respectively. The next largest group (16) received $7.00 per month, followed by 13 who received $9.00 per month. Two groups with 7 each received $10.00 and $20.00 per month respectively.

On the basis of the above amounts granted per family per month, it is difficult to determine whether or not the grant is adequate to the family needs. The only way to determine the adequacy of Mothers' Aid grants is on the basis of data showing total incomes and expenditures together with the number in the family. The data on income is so incomplete as to furnish no real information.

The average monthly allowance for Mothers' Aid grants since the establishment of the County Board of Public Welfare is as follows:

June 1, 1923, to December 31, 1923	$ 7.65
January 1, 1924, to December 31, 1924	7.70
January 1, 1925, to December 31, 1925	8.14
January 1, 1926, to December 31, 1926	10.90
July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927	11.23

This may well mean that the standards of Mothers' Aid cases are being raised. In this connection a consideration of importance in Mothers' Aid allowances in Wise County is the question of rent. Rent in the mining camps includes light, coal, doctor's service, and garden space, and is very nominal, about $4.00 per month. If death of husband occurs on company property the widow pays no rent. Any comparison of the above allowances with those granted in an urban situation should give attention to the standard of living in each case.

TABLE 35

NUMBER OF FAMILIES RECEIVING MOTHERS' AID OF SPECIFIED AMOUNTS JULY 1, 1926-JUNE 30, 1927—TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN OVER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH FAMILY

Number of children in family over 16 years of age		Families receiving Mothers' Aid of specified amounts								
		$5	$7	$9	$10	$11	$13	$15	$17	$20
1 child	23	1	7	4	....	5	3	1	1	1
2 children	12	....	....	1	1	3	5	2	....	....
3 children	8	1	2	1	....	1	2	....	....	1
4 children	4	....	1	....	....	2	....	....	1	....
5 children	2	....	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	....
6 children	2	....	1	....	....	....	1	....	....	....
Total	51	2	11	7	1	12	11	3	2	2

TABLE 36

AGE OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS AND OVER 16 YEARS

Age Years	Number	Age Years	Number
1	4	17	11
2	6	18	10
3	5	19	6
4	16	20	7
5	10	21	3
6	19	22	2
7	16	23	4
8	16	27	4
9	24		47
10	19		
11	16		
12	16		
13	19		
14	16		
15	16		
16	12		
	230		

In the total of 98 families receiving Mothers' Aid, there were 51 that had children over 16 years of age—children away from home or unable to contribute to the support of the mother. It is rather interesting to note that 31 out of the 51 families received $10 per month or more, two received $20: two $17.00, and three $15.00 per month.

The age of 230 children 16 years of age and under, out of a total of 334 and 47 over 16 years out of 109 is as given above. Four of those 16 years of age and under were married, and 15 of those over 16 years of age.

TABLE 37

MARITAL STATUS OF MOTHERS' AID FAMILIES

Marital status	Mothers' aid families	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Widowed	156	83.42
Deserted	16	8.56
State ward (prison or hospital)	8	4.28
Married but with husband incapacitated	7	3.74

TABLE 38

INTERVAL BETWEEN FATHERS' DEATH AND APPLICATION FOR MOTHERS' AID

Interval between death of father and application.	Mothers' aid families	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Less than one month	9	16.98
One month and less than two months	5	9.43
Two months and less than three months	6	11.32
Three months and less than four months	7	13.21
Five months and less than six months	1	1.89
Six months and less than seven months	1	1.89
Seven months and less than eight months	2	3.77
Eight months and less than nine months	1	1.89
Nine months and less than ten months	1	1.89
Ten months and less than eleven months	1	1.89
Eleven months and less than twelve months	1	1.89
1 year and less than two years	8	15.09
2 years and less than three years	2	3.77
3 years and less than four years	1	1.89
4 years and less than five years	2	3.77
5 years and less than six years	1	1.89
6 years and less than seven years	1	1.89
7 years and less than eight years	2	3.77
8 years and less than nine years	1	1.89
	53	100.

Interesting questions arise concerning the group of 7 women with incapacitated husbands. The nature of the "physical or mental infirmity" that has rendered these men unable to support their families is a question of social importance. Paralysis, tuberculosis, feeble-mindedness, "bad back" are given as the causes of the incapacity. The granting of aid to mothers whose husbands have been imprisoned raises some questions of social procedure both from the standpoint of the court and those who administer the Mothers' Aid grants.

While the data is not available for an accurate statement, it is clear that the earning power of the fathers was low. Some of the widows supported themselves for a time after the death of their husbands. As a result of these and other circumstances the families who were given Mothers' Aid allowances are often in poor physical condition and frequently living under conditions that are detrimental to health.

TABLE 39

INTERVAL BETWEEN APPLICATION FOR MOTHERS' AID AND DATE OF GRANT

Interval between application and grant	Mothers' aid families	
	Number	Per cent distribution
1 week	21	33.89
2 weeks	13	20.97
3 weeks	6	9.68
1 month	13	20.97
2 months	5	8.06
3 months	4	6.43
Total	62	100.

Table 39 shows the interval between application and date of grant. It is evident that unless the circumstances concerning the family were very well known that a week or two weeks is too short a time in which tc investigate the family conditions. Here, again, it is probably true that rural families are better known so that the interval from date of application to date of grant is shorter than in an urban situation.

In the case of the age reported as 74, aid is being granted to a grandmother for the care of a grandchild. 63 or 64.29 per cent of the mothers are under 40 years of age. 21 were under 30 years of age.

TABLE 40

AGE OF MOTHERS RECEIVING AID

Age	Number	Age	Number
20	1	40	4
23	1	41	5
24	2	42	7
25	1	43	2
26	4	44	3
27	2	45	2
28	2	46	2
29	2	47	3
30	6	48	3
31	3	49	1
32	6	50	2
33	2	51	1
34	2	52	1
35	4	53	1
36	5	55	1
37	5	74	1
38	6		
39	5	Total	98

TABLE 41

LENGTH OF TIME ON MOTHERS' AID ROLL

Time By months	Number	Time By months	Number
1 "	2	33 "	5
2 "	2	34 "	1
3 "	3	35 "	1
6 "	3	36 "	4
7 "	1	37 "	4
8 "	2	38 "	1
9 "	4	41 "	1
10 "	2	44 "	1
12 "	2	45 "	2
13 "	1	48 "	3
15 "	2	49 "	1
17 "	3	50 "	1
18 "	1	51 "	2
19 "	1	53 "	2
20 "	3	54 "	1
21 "	1	55 "	2
24 "	2	56 "	3
25 "	1	58 "	2
26 "	1	60 "	2
28 "	1	63 "	2
29 "	1	64 "	2
30 "	1	65 "	3
31 "	1	66 "	8
32 "	2		97

Table 41 shows the length of time 97 families had been under the care of the Board of Public Welfare.

The average length of time on Mothers' Aid roll since the beginning of the work by the Board of Public Welfare is as follows:

	Years	Months
June 1, 1923, to December 31, 1923	1	3.9
January 1, 1923, to December 31, 1924	2	9.0
January 1, 1924, to December 31, 1925	1	8.3
January 1, 1925, to June 30, 1926	2	5.0
July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927	2	10.3

Without more intimate and detailed information one can hardly say that increasing the length of time on the Mothers' Aid roll is a good procedure. However an allowance sufficient to put a family on its feet in a reasonable time is good practice.

Table 42 throws some light on the economic status of the Mothers' Aid families.

TABLE 42

AMOUNT OF PROPERTY OF MOTHERS' AID FAMILIES

Total reported	Number
$ 100 to 199	1
200 to 299	3
300 to 399	3
400 to 499	4
500 to 599	3
600 to 699	7
700 to 799	2
800 to 899	4
900 to 999	1
1,000 to 1,999	3
1,500 to 1,599	2
1,700 to 1,799	2
1,800 to 1,899	1
Total	35

Out of the 98 Mothers' Aid families 35 are reported as having some property. There may be some question as to the accuracy of the data relating to the possession of property. Whether property was encumbered is not known. On the basis of the property reported, it is apparent that the families were supported on possession of very little property. In this connection it might be well to indicate that the occupation of the fathers would class them as unskilled miners and farmers for the most part. This indicates that both incomes and possession of property would be low.

A study of Mothers' Aid in Wise County reveals that the chief defect in its administration lies in the ideas connected with the old outdoor relief practices. All the evils found by experience to be inherent in any plan for outdoor relief seems to beset, at the beginning, the successful administration of this act. Shall the money appropriated be used in small doles for many families or for constructive work in fewer families? That is the question. Commendable progress has been made in getting from the outdoor relief system with its doles to a constructive program of rehabilitation which is the purpose of the Mothers' Aid legislation. Wise County has demonstrated that the responsibility for financing and administering the Mothers' Aid law should be a local matter; but that the State should provide effective supervision and educational material for the local unit.

CHAPTER IX

The Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court

The Method and Spirit of the Court

UNTIL 1918, when the first Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court law was passed, Virginia followed the old common law system of procedure and tried children for violation of law under the criminal code. With the establishment of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court in each city and county in the State, there was provided a method of hearing of cases, that is in the nature of a chancery proceeding which makes the purpose of the inquiry the determination of the need of care and guardianship of the person by the State rather than the conviction of crime. The Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court is a statutory court through which the State utilizes all that science, religion, education, medicine and social sciences can offer in the protection of childhood. The State may pursue this course by virtue of the prerogative of *parens patriae* which is inherent in the State.

The name "juvenile and domestic relations court" implies duality of function. Its jurisdiction covers cases and matters involving children, that is, those under eighteen years of age and cases and matters involving persons over eighteen years of age, including charges by one member of the family against another, in which the largest number of cases are non-support, assaults and subjecting children to improper, immoral or vicious influences. The first group comes under the Juvenile Court and the second class comes under the jurisdiction of the Domestic Relations Court, but in either case the unit with which the court deals is the family. The family is the chief interest of concern to the court.

It is well to recognize the social philosophy underlying the juvenile court. The controls that were formerly based on custom and family ritual have been replaced by controls based on positive law. Secondary relationships have taken the place of primary contacts in the association of individuals. Young people form face-to-face associations on the basis of casual acquaintance. This change from primary to secondary relationships has brought under State control activities that were formerly left to individual initiative and discretion. With the event of the more formal and less intimate social relations has come the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court which supplements and to some extent supplants the family and neighborhood as a means of dis-

cipline and control of individuals. The court prescribes remedies and gives advice intended to restore persons to a normal place in society more than it interprets law.

The place of the court as a political and social institution must be clearly defined and understood, both in law and purpose, if it is to be of the greatest usefulness in any community. It should be regarded as a social agency created by the legislation of the State and set up by the local community for the adjustment of such ills as are disclosed by the acts, or repeated acts, of children and adults whose actions give the Court objective data of unwholesome social conditions. Its purpose is that of saving children from entering criminal careers. It has nothing in common with the ordinary criminal courts which administer punishment and retributive justice. Its approach to the problems cast up in the community is scientific and objective. It brings to bear upon these problems not only statutory law but also the sciences dealing with human relations and behavior, such as biology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and medicine. Each child is treated and studied as an individual living in a social complex, both of which are to be understood. Under the law it is the duty of the Juvenile Court: (1) to ascertain if social or individual conditions are so adverse to the welfare of a child as to handicap him physically, mentally and morally; (2) to improve the welfare of the child by supplying the needs that are lacking and removing the obstacles found in his social development. Duty requires the court to act positively in matters relating to children. The judge is to be more than a register of judicial decisions on matters brought before him, or to dispose of a child in some manner. The constructive work of the court consists not only of formulating plans for correcting the child's misconduct, home conditions or social conditions, but also in counselling with parents and guardians and community leaders, of arousing public consciousness, and of organizing community resources for education and recreation. When home and community resources are insufficient or when the child fails or refuses to comply with the terms of probation prescribed by the court, and persists in serious misconduct and violation of the law the court commits the child to the State which assumes the obligation of supplying the child with the proper support and education, better care and environment.

With the assumption of jurisdiction of the child by the court it has the problem of securing information as to what plan or method of treatment of the child should be followed. It must know what the condition or status of the child is in order to determine the aid, protection and direction that such a child needs for his future welfare.

If delinquent, why is this child before the Court; what are the underlying causes of his delinquency? What makes the child do what he does and makes him what he is? Even if the child is returned to his home under conditions prescribed by the court there is still much to do. The child, his parents, his home and neighborhood surroundings need to be understood and given oversight and direction.

In the case of delinquency the adjudication of delinquency does not mean conviction in the sense of criminal law, but indicates the necessity for correction, supervision and attention to the person concerned. The child becomes a ward of the State in need of aid, protection and care. The idea back of the juvenile court law is that of correcting and saving instead of punishing the child. The child is to be given a chance to make good. The law recognizes the principle that the delinquent child should be treated as a child and not as a criminal. The intent of the law with reference to children is radically different from that with reference to adults. The child is to be regarded as a ward of the State to be corrected and developed into a good citizen, and to be taught to mend his ways. The effort is not to establish the guilt of the child but to ascertain a condition and the causes contributing to that condition. The Virginia statute provides that "no adjudication or judgment upon the status of the child under the provisions of this chapter shall operate to impose any of the disabilities ordinarily imposed by such conviction, nor shall any such child be denominated a criminal by reason of any such adjudication, nor shall such adjudication be denominated a conviction." [1] The child may not yet be delinquent, but may be in process of becoming so through being incorrigible, unmanageable, or because of associating with persons whose influence is harmful. When the child is found delinquent, he is generally not sentenced to any punishment, except in aggravated cases or repeated offenses, but is placed on probation, certain requirements as to conduct prescribed for him in his home and outside it; and only if he refuses or persistently fails to cease his misconduct, is he committed to any correctional institution. While under probation he is to remain under the friendly oversight of the probation officer, a ward of the court, subject to the return for further proceedings if conditions make it necessary.

The intention of the Juvenile Court Law is that in "all proceedings concerning the disposition, custody, or control of children coming within the provision" of law "the court shall proceed upon the theory

1. Virginia General Laws, 1923, § 1905.

that the welfare of the child is the paramount concern of the state." [2] Justice to the child demands an impartial, orderly, and intelligent hearing conducted in such a way that the child will be impressed by the fairness of the court and won by its intent, and made to feel sufficiently aware of the forces at the disposal of the court to confirm in his mind the seriousness of his conduct and the consequences to him if his misconduct continues.

As far as the public is concerned the juvenile court acts as the administrative arm of justice. The legislature has granted great discretion to the court in its treatment of youthful offenders, because society vaguely feels that mere correction and sympathy are not sufficient. The delinquent child is to be regarded as unfortunate in its conduct and demands not penalization but investigation and treatment. We may say the child has stolen or the child has lied, but we cannot recognize the permanency of the habit until investigation into the history of the child and sometimes until corrective measures have been tried.

When conditions are harmful as disclosed by investigation, constructive social welfare dictates some coördinated effort to remedy them. The court in connection with auxiliary agencies such as a child guidance clinic and a probation department is a sort of laboratory—a conduct and behavior laboratory—where the offender is placed under the microscope of science, his heredity studied, his environment investigated, his mentality tested, his social disease diagnosed, the appropriate treatment prescribed, and the child's future course prognosticated.

The Jurisdiction of the Court

The discussion of the extent of the jurisdiction of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court limits itself to the classes of persons and cases coming to the court instead of to the types of political unit served or its place in the judicial system of State government.

The Juvenile Court Law defines the age limit under which the court obtains jurisdiction in children's cases as eighteen years. It has broad jurisdiction over all cases, matters and proceedings involving "the disposition, custody or control of delinquent, dependent and neglected children." [3] The scope of the statute which defines these classes is broad enough to give the court jurisdiction over mentally defective children whether or not they are delinquent, dependent or neglected. The juris-

2. Virginia General Laws, 1923, § 1905.
3. Acts of Virginia, 1922, Chapter 481, § 1906.

diction includes the acts or omissions not only of parents or guardians but also of any offending adult who acts in a manner contrary to a child's welfare.

The Domestic Relations Court has jurisdiction over cases of desertion and non-support.[4] In addition to these cases "all offenses..... committed by one member of a family, and the trial of all criminal warrants in which one member of a family is complainant against another member of said family" come under its jurisdiction, as do cases involving "male or female, who knowingly contribute in any way to the disruption of material relations of a home." The court has the enforcement of any law, regulation or ordinance for the education, protection or care of children. This regulation covers the child labor laws.

The Process Leading to Hearing of Case

The usual method of securing jurisdiction by the court is through summons and petition rather than through warrant. "The petitioner shall state the facts which bring said child within the jurisdiction of the court." [5] The filing of the petition is merely a method whereby the court may be informed of the situation which the petition alleges to exist.

The method of receiving and passing upon complaints and petitions is of vital importance in securing effective court procedure. It is in this initial proceeding that the child, the parents, and the community receive an impression of the spirit of the court. The proportion of cases referred to the court either by an informal complaint or petition give some indication of the success of the court in winning the confidence of the community.

If the facts alleged in the petition warrant, a summons is issued "requiring the child to appear before the court, and requiring the parents, guardian, or the person having the custody, control and supervision of the child, at such time and place as may be stated in the summons to show cause why the child should not be dealt with according to the provisions" [6] of the statute. The court as an agent of the community acts as a wise parent who seeks to learn what the child needs for his welfare, and sets in motion and supervises forces and workers to provide for the child that care, custody and discipline that ought to be given by his parents.

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4. Code of Virginia, 1922, Chapter 485, § 1907.
5. Code of Virginia, 1922, Chapter 481, § 1907.
6. Code of Virginia, 1922, Chapter 481, § 1908.

The Juvenile Courts in the Six Counties

There are 94 county and 15 city Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts in Virginia. Provisions for county courts are as follows: "the circuit court of every county of this State shall appoint a special justice of the peace, preferably a person trained in the law, to be known as the judge of the juvenile and domestic relations court for such city or county, who shall hold office for a term of six years and until his successor has been appointed and qualified." [7] Each of the six counties studied has a juvenile and domestic relations court judge, none of whom however are serving full time. In Albemarle County the judge gives one half-day a week. The Amherst County judge is primarily a justice of the peace, and goes from place to place in the county as occasion demands. The Arlington County judge is also the police court justice and gives a half-day a week to the juvenile and domestic relations court. In Augusta County there are two judges—one for the county and one for Staunton, the county seat. Each gives two half-days a week to the court. The Rockingham County judge is also mayor who gives one half-day to the work. In Wise County the judge gives two days a week, meeting in various sections of the county on alternate days.

All but one of the judges are lawyers. None of them have had any special training and experience to fit them for work with children, though in two cases special interest had been manifested in a general child-welfare program prior to appointment as judge. One of the problems of the county juvenile courts is to secure judges with the kind of experience and training that will enable them to deal with the problems that come to them from the point of view of well established juvenile court procedures. The question of salary has an important bearing upon securing properly qualified judges. The salary in two cases is wholly dependent upon fees and of course is totally inadequate. In the other cases the salary is so small that only part-time can be devoted to juvenile court work.

Only in one county, Augusta, is there a full-time probation officer as distinct from the superintendent of Public Welfare; while two counties, Amherst and Rockingham, have none. In the other three counties the superintendents of public welfare act in this capacity. Volunteers are used in two counties in addition to the superintendents of public welfare. The police and sheriff in the counties are relied upon to a great extent by the judges to get necessary work done. The

7. Code of Virginia, 1922, Chapter 482, § 1908.

lack of probation service handicaps the judge in carrying out the provisions of the juvenile court law. Investigations are unmade or inadequate in far too many cases. Supervision of those placed on probation is nominal and for the most part ineffective.

Detention

The problem of detention of children is usually met in the larger cities of Virginia by the provision of a detention home under the general management of the juvenile court. In the counties under consideration detention facilities are lacking. The number of cases actually needing detention are so small that the problem of providing a place to retain them is no small one. The jail is used as the most common place for detention. Arlington County is able to use the detention facilities of Washington for their most needy cases. Records indicate that even in Arlington County the jail is used in a large number of instances. None of the jails have facilities for the detention of juveniles separate from the adults. In one county a girl was in jail for over two months associating with a colored woman of fifty-five years of age who bore an unsavory reputation. In another instance two girls were arrested on the charge of delinquency. It was their first offense. They were held in jail three weeks pending their hearing during which time they were compelled to associate with female adults of both races. In Wise County the almshouse is used for detention for some of the cases.

Family homes are not used for detention purposes. In the majority of cases children remain in their own homes pending the time for them to come into court. Boys and girls should be spared the ordeal of being placed in jail and certainly should not be placed in contact with adult criminals. So far as possible hearing of children's cases should be held promptly. This avoids a great deal of the necessity of detention in jail or other places. In the majority of cases no detention is needed, the child remaining in his own home until the time of hearing.

Social Diagnosis

The success of the juvenile court is dependent upon a thorough understanding of all the significant aspects of the case. This is dependent upon a thorough social investigation. Cooley in *Social Organization* says, "No matter how mean or hideous a man's life is, the first thing is to understand him; to make out just how it is that our common human nature has come to work out in this way. This method calls

for patience, insight, firmness and confidence in men, leaving little room for denunciatory egotism of a certain kind of reformers." [8] Each child varies from every other child physically and mentally as well as in background, training and experience, and needs thus to be individualized both in diagnosis and treatment. Burt says, "A delinquent's character and conduct, what he now is and what he has done, these are the fruits of a long and complicated process of development; and his present predicament, with all its problems and temptations must be viewed not as the mere sum of its contemporary constituents, but as the product of converging forces operating cumulatively throughout his life." [9]

The courts do not have at their disposal the facilities for a thorough study of each case. It is only in the exceptional cases that physical and mental examinations are made. In four courts it was the general practice that all cases formally handled should be investigated prior to hearing. These investigations in Augusta County were made by the probation officer, and in the other three counties by the superintendents of public welfare. These investigations fall short of the standards of national agencies. Much of the data which should reveal the nature of the complaint, the child's own development and history, home conditions, conduct at school, church, play-grounds and other neighborhood agencies are lacking. Facts as to name, place of residence, age, parents, and charge, are usually secured. Little information is obtained throwing light upon family circumstances and home conditions such as physical and sanitary facilities, or the composition, economic status, religious affiliation, contact with agencies, and the general mood and temperament of the family. Yet, these and the attitude of the members of the family toward each other, the causes of family and social conflict, and the nature of the offense, are important in revealing the family tensions that may lead to its disorganization. It would seem that obtaining more complete data on the juvenile court cases would increase in a large way the court's understanding of the causal factors in delinquency and thus would aid in building a preventive program.

Beyond the facts discovered in the child's physical and social environment, there are the data relative to his physical condition and his mental life. What has contributed to the reasons for his delinquency? What of his mentality? What of his physical equipment? What of his degree of success in school life? For the most part an answer cannot be

8. Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, 1909, p. 15.
9. Burt, Cyril, *The Young Delinquent*, 1925, p. 8.

given to the questions of mental and physical capacity as the counties do not have the facilities for the study of delinquents. Only in exceptional cases are clinical examinations made. The problem is treated largely from a disciplinary point of view and the repressive or negative method of treatment is used in preference to the more enlightened modern method of case study.

There are no data as to the intelligence or physical condition of the delinquent child, except in isolated cases. A total of eleven out of 499 cases in three counties received a complete mental and physical examination. It is well known that such physical defects as adenoids, tonsils, teeth and eyes, and physical ailments and handicaps are often at the basis of the maladjustment of the child. The physical examination of children frequently discloses conditions of physical disease, defect or illness, the improvement of which will result in the restoration of the child to a normal and wholesome life.

The mental life of the child is a most important factor in any thorough understanding of his behavior. His social experiences may be the real conditioning factors in his emotional life. Due to these social experiences mental complexes are formed and mind-bents developed which condition the child's outlook upon life. Thus school retardation may be due to loss of hope and initiative rather than to mental deficiency. A check of the family names of delinquents with the family names of children retarded in school reveals that the court is dealing with much the same group.

Hearings

The nature of the court predetermines that the procedure shall be social. The judge is to weigh the results of the social investigation and the study of the child, to determine whether the conditions alleged in the petition exist, to enlist the coöperation of parents and others in outlining a plan of treatment. As has been discussed in another connection the function of the court is one of guardianship, not one of punishment. It has been said that "the primary function of the judge is not to prove that the child is or is not guilty of an offense but to get from the child the truth, to weigh the results of the social, physical and mental findings, to determine what the needs of the child are and then decide upon the treatment." [10]

The more frequent the hearings, the shorter the detention periods. The number of hearings per week varies in the courts studied: Wise

10. Lou, H. H., *Juvenile Courts in United States*, 1927, p. 129.

County has two regular hearings per week; Augusta County two half-day hearings, Arlington and Albemarle one half-day session; Amherst County holds hearings as occasion demands. In urgent cases hearings are held at other times.

The exclusion of the public from hearings of children's cases is generally recognized as a fundamental feature of juvenile court procedure. The practice of courts in this regard varies. In one court the hearings are held in a large room, divided by a railing. The judge and those called for witness are on one side of the railing, while other witnesses and spectators are on the other side. In two courts the hearings are held in the office of the probation officer. This gives privacy; the public is excluded. In one ot the other counties the hearings are held in the police court room. While some attempt is made to secure privacy, this is usually not accomplished. Large numbers are invariably in the court room. In most cases there is no attempt to separate witnesses nor to keep children from hearing all of the witnesses. There are no provisions in a general waiting room for children awaiting their turn in court. In no instance is there provision for a woman to hear cases of girls.

Probation Service

The success of the probation service depends largely upon the thoroughness with which the circumstances of the past and present life of the child, the family, and the neighborhood is known. This depends in turn largely upon regular paid service requiring similar qualifications and approach as welfare work. The minimum qualifications of probation officers has been given as:

"1. Education: Preferably graduation from college or its equivalent, or from a school of social work.

2. Experience: At least one year in case work under supervision.

3. Good personality and character; tact, resourcefulness, and sympathy." [11]

The difficulty of securing adequate probation service for rural counties grows out of the fact of the small salary paid and the newness of the work. Augusta County has a full-time paid probation officer. In three other counties the superintendents of public welfare serve in this capacity in connection with their other duties. Probation service is secondary to the other work they have to perform. The result is that

11. United States Children's Bureau Publication, No. 121, 1923—Juvenile Court Standards.

only a small amount of time can be given. The other two counties do not have any probation service.

Effective and constructive probation work is usually done with the child's family and with the child through the family. Conditions under which the child is living should be known intimately. Many times problems in the home underlie the causes of maladjustment. The child and the child's parents must be active agents in any reconstructive process. Supervision without this coöperation cannot get very far in building up habits of stability, reliability, and proper standards of conduct. Emphasis on compliance with formal rules at the expense of the more important elements of participation in the rehabilitation process, is a failure to see the opportunities and the responsibilities involved. This must be recognized by child, parent and probation officer. In four counties such items as regular attendance at church and school, coming home at a certain time at night, refraining from going with certain individuals or groups, are specified in the terms of the probation.

An aspect of probation work that is of vital importance is the planning for the individual at the beginning of his probationary period. In none of the courts is there an indication of a well though out plan for the child. The impression is given that the success of the probationary period was left largely to the child, his family, and the community with little conscious direction from the supervisor.

Five of the juvenile courts require children placed on probation to report at regular intervals. Reporting is on the basis of once a week, usually on Saturday morning. One of the objects of reporting at regular intervals is given as the establishment of regular habits in the child. Some held that it gives the probation officer a chance to win the confidence of the probationer.

Visits to homes by the probation officer are incidental. The best probation practice would have home visits as the most essential part of the probation work. It is only through home visitation that the child's environment and the persons with whom he comes in intimate contact can be discovered. The more intangible and often more important phases of the home life, such as the parents' understanding and control of the child, provision for leisure time activities, and the relationships between different members of the family, can only be known through intimate contact with the home and family. The number of visits per month to the family is of less significance than securing an intimate picture of the family situation and its coöperation. The in-

timate picture which gives an understanding of the family and participation in plans should be the prime object, not the number of visits.

An important aspect of the task of carrying out a constructive plan for the child involves a thorough study of the leisure time facilities available. A directory of all existing leisure time facilities should be made indicating the available facilities and showing the areas where court cases arise. It is generally recognized that it is the misuse of leisure time that proves a dominating factor in juvenile court cases. This means that particular attention should be given to the recreational habits of the community. As yet little has been done by probation officers or juvenile court judges to promote or incorporate recreational activities in their program of rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents.

Records and Statistics

Lenroot and Lundberg set forth the kinds of juvenile court records needed as follows: "(1) The legal records which show that the procedure required by law has been complied with and furnish the basis for statistics on the volume of work, the charges, and the dispositions made; (2) the records of the social investigation and the scientific study of the child, which should contain the diagnosis of the case and form the basis for disposition by the court and for subsequent measurement of the results obtained; (3) the records of supervision, which should show the plans made, the work done, and the results." [12] These three types of records are essential to the work with each child.

The purpose of juvenile court statistics has been stated by a committee of the National Probation Association reporting in 1923 as follows:

1. To furnish an index of the general nature and extent of the problems which are brought before the court officially and unofficially.

2. To show the extent and kinds of service given by the court in such a way that significant trends in methods of treatment and important facts with reference to scope and volume of work may be brought out.

3. To point out significant factors which contribute to the causation of problems that come before the court in such a way as to throw light on possibilities of correction and prevention.

4. To show the extent to which service given by the court has been effective in correcting social problems, according to some definite measure of success or failure, to the end that possibilities and limitations of methods may be revealed and necessary changes or re-enforcements indicated.[13]

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12. Lenroot, Katharine F. and Lundberg, Emma O. *Juvenile Courts at Work*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 141, 1925, p. 199.

13. Juvenile Court Statistics, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 159, 1926, pp. 2-3.

The information comprised under 1 and 2 constitutes the minimum that should be gathered by all courts on a uniform basis and cast in such form that it may be comparable from year to year for the same court, and for different areas. The information under 3 and 4 involves keeping adequate case records and the employment of trained workers to do the research.

The form of the legal records of the juvenile courts in Virginia follow much after that of the police court. Cases are brought officially to the attention of the juvenile court through the filing of a petition which reads the "Commonwealth of Virginia in re ....." (inserting the name of the child). The facts alleged which would bring the child within the provisions of the juvenile court law are stated in the petition. The form of petition is the same for cases of delinquency, dependency, and neglect.

The child and his parents or guardians are notified of hearings through summons which requires the child to appear before the court at the stated time and requires the parents, guardian, or the person having the custody, control or supervision of the child to appear with the child, at such time and place as may be stated in the summons. Service of such summons shall be made by delivering to and leaving with the person summoned a true copy thereof. These notices confer jurisdiction if service is effected at any time before the time fixed in the summons. If objection is made to the summons then the court can not proceed with the hearing earlier than the third day after the date of service.

In four of the counties the docket serves as the permanent chronological record of cases. In the other two counties there is no record of the cases except the petition and the record of disposition. The information given on the docket was: name of child, parent's name, address, date of birth, the nature of the charge, the date filed, and the disposition of the case. In addition to the docket some of the courts make out the findings in greater detail. This was especially true of the cases committed to the State Department of Public Welfare. The disposition of the case is often noted on the petition.

In two counties the records are kept in the office of the superintendent of public welfare, in one county in the office of the probation officer, in another in the office of the clerk of the county, in one county in the office of the mayor, and in one county in the home of the judge. It is essential that the legal record system of the juvenile court be adequate to insure that the business is conducted in an

orderly form. Lack of clerical help and the lack of funds militate against the keeping of records.

In four courts written records are made of investigations in certain cases, those involving quite serious charges. These investigations are made by the probation officer in one county and the superintendent of public welfare in three counties. The record varies from a few notes on a card to a rather complete history of the child and the conditions in his home and social environment. The amount of information given in no case embraces all that should go into a well worked up case. Little is given beyond the home conditions. Information blanks for securing information are used in two counties. But reading of records discloses the frequent failure on the part of the investigator to secure all, or even the major part of the information called for on the investigation forms.

It is the unusual case that has a physical or mental examination made. The Arlington County Court has the largest number made because facilities are available in Washington which may be used. Facilities are available in most counties for securing full physical examinations, but have not been utilized to the fullest extent. Facilities for mental examinations are not available for other than Arlington County.

Too much cannot be said of the importance of records in connection with the supervision of children placed on probation. The record of supervision should contain information concerning the status of the case at the beginning of supervision, the plans made for the child, contacts made with the child and the child with individuals and agencies, and the results accomplished. The record of supervision in the counties consisted of reports made on a card 3 by 5 inches. This gives the number of times the child reported to the court or supervisor. The card contains on the reverse side the conditions of probation. No narrative account is kept by any of the supervisors.

In none of the courts is an annual report printed. The only report of the cases is the annual report prepared for the State Department of Public Welfare. This gives the charges and disposition of cases by race and sex. Experience in gathering information from the courts indicates that these annual reports are far from accurate. Monthly summaries are not prepared. Spot maps locating the homes of the children coming to the court are not made. Statistical data could be compiled each week or at least each month. This would make it possible to show the work of the court at any time during the year.

Table 43 shows the sex and color of children brought before the court studied from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927.

TABLE 43

SEX AND COLOR OF JUVENILE COURT CASES

County	Male		Female		Total
	White	Colored	White	Colored	
Albemarle	45	12	19	5	81
Arlington	51	....	10	....	61
Augusta	58	4	28	12	102
Rockingham	43	8	14	2	67
Wise	160	9	19	....	188
Total	357	33	90	19	499

In only one county, Rockingham, does the percentage of Negro Juvenile Court cases, 14 per cent exceed the percentage of Negro population which is 6.7 per cent. The proportion of Negro population for the other counties is Albemarle, 28.7 per cent; Augusta, 16.3 per cent; and Wise, 8.2 per cent. The delinquency rates for these counties are, respectively, 21 per cent, 16 per cent, and 5 per cent.

The number of juvenile delinquents has a bearing upon the number of adult criminals. On the basis of pure chance, the greater the number of delinquent children there are in the child population, the greater will be the number whom society will fail to force into conformity. To a considerable extent the number of children who become delinquent today will determine the extent of crime tomorrow.

Table 44 shows the ages of the children brought before the court in the three counties from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927.

The recording of ages was only done in three of the six counties studied. The age distribution in these three counties indicates that the ages 10 to 17, inclusive, embrace 89.60 per cent of the cases in Augusta County, 100 per cent in Rockingham, and 96.28 per cent in Wise County. The ages 15 to 17, inclusive, have 53.24, 28.35, and 39.90 per cent, respectively for these counties. Rockingham has a large proportion 10, 11, and 12 years of age. The age distribution in these counties is not unlike that recorded in similiar studies in various parts of the country.

Table 45 shows the offenses with which children were charged who were brought before the juvenile court.

TABLE 44

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN DEALT WITH BY THE JUVENILE COURT

Age	Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1	1	1.30	1	1.49	....	.....
2	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
3	1	1.30	....	.....	....	.....
4	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
5	1	1.30	....	.....	....	.....
6	1	1.30	....	.....	2	1.06
7	1	1.30	....	.....	....	.....
8	2	2.60	....	.....	1	.53
9	1	1.30	....	.....	4	2.13
10	4	5.19	8	11.94	7	3.72
11	3	3.90	10	14.93	8	4.26
12	6	7.79	18	26.87	22	11.70
13	8	10.39	6	8.86	26	13.83
14	7	9.09	5	7.46	43	22.87
15	8	10.39	7	10.44	37	19.68
16	14	18.18	4	5.97	24	12.77
17	12	15.58	8	11.94	10	5.32
18	7	9.09	....	.....	4	2.13
Total	77	100.	67	100.	188	100.

The figures in table 45 by counties give a delinquency rate per thousand population for Albemarle, of 2.09; for Arlington, of 2.03; for Augusta, of 2.17; for Rockingham, of 1.88; and for Wise, of 3.39.

In studying the charges upon which children were brought before the juvenile court recognition should be given to the fact that in the majority of cases the parents through some circumstances resulting from economic or social maladjustment, or personality deficiency were inadequate to the task of controlling their children. On the specific charges for which children appeared in court there does not seem to be any significant trend as to charge, county by county. Stealing is higher in Arlington and Wise counties than in the other three counties. The fact that they are more highly industrialized may be an explanation. Augusta County has a high percentage of cases due to sex offense. This may be due to the activities of a probation officer who is particularly interested in this phase of welfare work. The variation as to the per cent for a particular charge is due more than likely to the welfare workers rather than to environmental circumstances causing that particular offense. Some judges and welfare workers are more interested in certain kinds of behavior than

TABLE 45

CHARGES IN CASES OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE DEALT WITH BY JUVENILE COURT

Charge	Albemarle		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise		Grand Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Stealing	29	35.80	45	73.77	17	16.67	20	29.85	96	51.07	208	41.68
Truancy	2	2.47	....	.....	10	9.81	25	37.32	1	.53	38	7.61
Running away	1	1.23	....	.....	3	2.94	8	11.94	2	1.06	14	2.81
Ungovernable or beyond parental control	7	8.64	7	11.48	12	11.76	12	17.91	10	5.32	48	9.62
Sex offense	4	4.94	1	1.64	12	11.76	....	.....	6	3.19	23	4.61
Injury or attempted injury to person	6	7.41	....	.....	6	5.88	1	1.49	18	9.58	30	6.01
Act of carelessness or mischief	8	9.88	8	13.11	17	16.67	1	1.49	53	28.19	87	17.43
Violating liquor or drug law	2	2.47	....	.....	3	2.94	....	.....	2	1.06	7	1.40
Vagrancy	....	.....	....	.....	4	3.92	....	.....	....	.....	4	.80
Broke parole	....	.....	....	.....	2	1.96	....	.....	....	.....	2	.40
Improper conditions in home	....	.....	....	.....	12	11.76	....	.....	....	.....	12	2.41
Abandonment or desertion	....	.....	....	.....	3	2.94	....	.....	....	.....	3	.60
Financial need	....	.....	....	.....	1	.98	....	.....	....	.....	1	.20
Not reported	22	27.16	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	22	4.41
Total	81	100.	61	100.	102	100.	67	100.	188	100.	499	100.

TABLE 46

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS DEALT WITH BY THE JUVENILE COURT

Disposition	Albemarle		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Dismissed	2	2.47	5	8.20	7	6.86	8	11.94	63	33.51	85	17.03
Continued	....	.....	....	.....	7	6.86	7	10.45	....	.....	14	2.81
Restitution or reparation ordered	....	.....	....	.....	4	3.92	1	1.49	11	5.85	16	3.21
Fine imposed or payment of cost	....	.....	....	.....	19	18.63	....	.....	27	14.36	46	9.22
Place on probation	25	30.87	45	73.77	33	32.35	38	56.72	66	35.11	207	41.48
Committed to State Dept. Public Welfare	9	11.11	10	16.39	30	29.41	12	17.91	13	6.91	74	14.83
County Home	3	3.70	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	3	1.60	6	1.20
Returned home	15	18.52	....	.....	1	.98	....	.....	1	.53	17	3.41
Foster or boarding home	18	22.22	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	18	3.61
Referred for criminal prosecution	....	.....	....	.....	1	.98	....	.....	4	2.13	5	1.00
Other disposition	9	11.11	1	1.64	....	.....	1	1.49	....	.....	11	2.20
Total	81	100.	61	100.	102	100.	67	100.	188	100.	499	100.

others. In other words there is no real reason for thinking that certain counties have so many more offenses of a certain kind than others. It is usually held that high proportions of juvenile delinquents come from homes that are broken, that most of them have fathers who are unskilled laborers, and that in the majority of cases parental control was lacking. In this study we do not know whether or not the proportion of broken homes is higher among delinquents that among non-delinquents of the same social status, whether the parents of the non-delinquents stand relatively higher in the occupational scale, and if parental control among non-delinquents is relatively better. The fact is that we do not know what weight to give environmental factors in the production of delinquency, nor will we know until controlled groups of normal children are studied and restudied.

Table 46 sets forth the action taken by the juvenile court in 499 cases.

The disposition of the children coming before the juvenile court in these counties gives some picture of the measures taken for their education and betterment or for the protection of society against further misbehavior from them in the future. One is struck by the large number of children placed on probation, and especially by the number of cases dismissed. One has the feeling that the variation in practice of the various courts is largely due to the newness of the work and to the lack of standardized principles to guide the judges. Each judge is largely a law unto himself.

The Domestic Relations Court

As indicated in an earlier section the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court has a dual function. It deals with those under 18 years of age and those over that age involving charges of a certain nature. Table 47 presents the data as to race and sex of the number coming to the Domestic Relations Court.

TABLE 47

Sex and Color of Domestic Relations Court Cases

County	Male		Female		Total
	White	Colored	White	Colored	
Arlington	29	....	....	....	29
Augusta	32	8	11	2	53
Rockingham	31	4	....	....	35
Wise	74	3	19	....	96

The rates of the Domestic Relations Court cases per thousand are, Arlington, .90; Augusta, 1.12; Rockingham, .98; and Wise, 1.73. A comparison of percentage of Negroes in the total population as given on page 27 indicates that the percentage for domestic relations court cases is higher in two counties, namely, Augusta, 19 per cent, and Rockingham, 11 per cent than the percentage of Negroes in the total population. The Negro population per cent is, 16.3 and 6.7, respectively for these counties. For Wise County the Negro court cases are 3 per cent and the population 8.2 per cent.

The charges on which individuals were brought into the Domestic Relations Court are given in table 48.

TABLE 48

CHARGES IN DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT CASES

Charge	Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Non-support or neglect of family	28	96.56	41	77.35	33	94.29	56	58.33
Sex offense	....	.....	2	3.77	....	.....	9	9.38
Rape	....	.....	1	1.88	....	.....	3	3.12
Abuse or cruel treatment	1	3.44	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Assault	....	.....	2	3.77	2	5.71	21	21.88
Violation of school law	....	.....	2	3.77	....	.....	4	4.17
Larceny	....	.....	1	1.88	....	.....	3	3.12
Violation of liquor law	....	.....	2	3.77	....	.....	....	.....
Delinquency	....	.....	1	1.88	....	.....	....	.....
Trespassing	....	.....	1	1.88	....	.....	....	.....
Total	29	100.	53	100.	35	100.	96	100.

The largest number of cases as given in table 48 is in reference to non-support and neglect of family, which also includes desertion. One reason for the large number of such cases is that the judge may admit only that kind of a case to court or may classify most cases under that category. Again the lack of standards of court work makes it difficult to make any comparisons between counties as to the respective charges.

The disposition of the cases coming before the Domestic Relations Court is given in table 49.

TABLE 49

DISPOSITION OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT CASES

Disposition	Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Dismissed	10	34.48	8	15.10	4	11.43	14	14.58
Probation	2	6.90	6	11.32	10	28.57	14	14.58
Support dependents	17	58.62	8	15.10	14	40.00	15	15.63
Continued	....	.....	9	16.98	....	.....	3	3.13
Settled out of court	....	.....	1	1.89	....	.....	13	13.54
State Department of P. W.	....	.....	4	7.53	5	14.29	2	2.08
Fined	....	.....	10	18.87	....	.....	15	15.63
Jail	....	.....	2	3.77	2	5.71	8	8.33
Referred to other court	....	.....	2	3.77	....	.....	6	6.25
Warrant withdrawn	....	.....	3	5.66	....	.....	6	6.25
Total	29	100.	53	100.	35	100.	96	100.

The disposition with the largest number of cases is the one in which dependents were ordered supported. This is followed by dismissed cases and then probation. It is significant that in two counties disposition through fines exceed that of any other method. Fines usually do not solve a problem.

As the juvenile and domestic relations courts are reviewed it appears that the spirit of the juvenile and domestic relations court has not been carried out consistently and uniformly in the six counties. The work is new; standards are in the process of formulation. While some of the judges are sympathetic and conscientious in their efforts in behalf of children, they are dominated too much by the methods of the civil and criminal courts.

Detention quarters is a problem in all the counties and has received considerable attention, but little has been accomplished to relieve the situation.

Probation service in all but one county is wholly ineffective. With the present laws in Virginia it is possible for a county to have the kind of court and probation service that the social intelligence of the county demands. As yet many people see no real necessity for such a court, with the result that no very effective court procedure has been possible in most cases.

CHAPTER X

The County Jail

The Beginning of the County Jail

THE county jail system of Virginia is reputed to be the oldest in America, having been provided for in orders of James I for the establishment and control of the colony. Provisions were made for the punishment of various offenses, together with an outlined system of trials for offenders. As early as 1631 the Assembly fixed the marshal's fee for imprisonment at ten pounds of tobacco for "coming in" and the same for "going out," and the per diem for maintenance of each prisoner at five pounds of tobacco.[1] In 1642 the justices of the county court were empowered to make the necessary arrangement for the construction of prisons.[2] "The General Assembly in 1684 for the fourth time required the justices to see that a strong and substantial jail, constructed in the form of a 'Virginia house' was built in their respective counties, should one not be standing. This law provided for a very humane addition to each jail: a parcel of land, not to exceed eighty poles square, was to be laid off immediately adjoining it to serve as 'a place of liberty and privilege' for every prisoner, not committed for treason or felony, who would give bond to the sheriff that he would not leave its bounds, and would use it for the promotion of his health and refreshment alone." [3] By 1693 each of the counties apparently was in possession of a moderately secure jail. Some of the jails were built of logs, some of wood, some of brick, and others of stone. "In the beginning, the taverns in which the justices so often held the sessions of their respective courts, owing to the lack of court houses, were frequently used as jails; and when the regular jails came to be erected, their average dimensions did not exceed fifteen by ten feet." [4]

The Problem of the County Jail

The county jail is the most important penal institution in the State and exerts a greater influence than any other penal or eleemos-

1. Henning's Statutes, Vol. 1, Chapter LXIV.
2. Henning's Statutes, Vol. 1, pp. 265, 444; and Vol. II, p. 76.
3. Bruce, Philip A., *Institutional History of Virginia,* Vol. 1, 1910, p. 635; also Henning's Statutes, Vol. III, p. 15.
4. Bruce, Philip A., *Institutional History of Virginia,* Vol. I, 1910, p. 645.

ynary institution, now being supported by the public. More than 35,000 men, women and children pass its portals yearly.[4a] A study of this institution is important from at least two points of approach: First, nearly all prisoners get their first prison experience in a jail, and the possibility of restoring them to good citizenship is greater then than at any subsequent time. Second, the jail is theoretically a place of detention rather than punishment, being used as a place to confine those guilty of minor offenses or awaiting trial.

On the first point, Hart has this to say, "Few people realize that the jail is the most important prison in the land, because nearly all prisoners get their first prison experience in a lockup, a police station, or a county jail, and the possibility of restoring them to good citizenship is greater then than at any subsequent time. It is appalling to discover the public indifference which exists in nearly all communities with reference to these institutions. The popular feeling appears to be that anything is good enough for criminals and that all inmates of these institutions belong to the criminal class..... It is a fact that many prisoners find their way into jail who are subsequently proved to be entirely innocent, and many others are accidental criminals who with proper treatment need never offend a second time against the law. When De Tocqueville visited this country, more than ninety years ago, he said that the American prisons were the worst in the world, and that indictment still stands against the great majority of our local jails."[5]

On the second point, Kirchwey holds that, "The question is not what is the approved or the socially desirable way in which to deal with convicted offenders, but a very different one, which may be put in this way: How far and in what ways may we rightfully restrain the liberty of those who have been accused of wrong-doing, until the question of their guilt or innocence has been lawfully determined.

"The convicted offender is properly at the mercy and justice of the community: the accused person has a right to go about his own affairs, unmolested, except in-so-far as it may be necessary to restrain him in order to insure his appearance in court when wanted. The shoe is on the other foot. The burden of proof, of justification, is on the authorities for every day that such a person is unnecessarily confined, for every indignity or hardship that he is made to suffer while under con-

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4a. Records in office of State Department of Public Welfare.

5. Hart, Hastings H., *The Rural Jail—Proceeding National Conference of Social Work,* 1927, p. 152.

finement."[6] In practice the jail in Virginia is both a place of detention and punishment, but run without adequate facilities for detention or a clear recognition of the duality of its function. The county jails of Virginia are not the only ones that have disregarded these elementary considerations of human and civic rights. More than one writer and speaker in the State has condemned as the very worst feature of Virginia's penal system the neglected and poorly staffed county jail. Some of the specific problems associated with the county jails of Virginia as derived from a study of them in six counties are set forth in the following paragraphs.

It has been held that the answer to the existence of filth, degradation and demoralization in the jails is "politics," the jail being regarded as the private preserve of the sheriff and other local authorities. In 1877 the local system of control was swept away in England by an act of Parliament and the jails were nationalized and put under the control of the central government. Virginia is moving in the direction of centralized control by the State government as will be indicated in another section of this chapter.

The state of public opinion concerning the jail population adds to the jail problem. Instead of using the jail for the detention of those accused of crime, it has served as a convenient dumping ground for "the rag tag and bobtail" of society, the vagrant, the prostitute, the bootlegger, the drug addict, the petty thieves, and repeaters. This condition gives rise to the conviction that the jail is a place of punishment and whoever is placed within its portals is a "jail bird." Irrespective of age, guilt, or character, the jail places a stigma upon all who enter it for whatever reason.

While overcrowding is not so serious a problem in the county as in the city jails, it nevertheless does exist. Some of the attending conditions of overcrowding as discovered in the study are: lack of proper sanitation, foul air, lack of exercise or recreation, absence of occupation of mind and body, irritability of prisoners, and impairment of health.

The health hazards of the jails are pronounced. In cases of overcrowding, conditions are created most favorable for contagion. With the lack of exercise there is little chance to maintain bodily vigor. Clinical facilities for the prisoners are nonexistent, though a physician is on call. The character of the bedding and cells add to the health hazard.

A serious problem in the jails is the problem of classification of the

6. Kirchwey, George W., *The Survey of the Cook County Jail*, 1922, p. 19.

prisoners. Prisoners are separated as to sex and race, but not by age, and thus first offenders and those awaiting trial may be subjected to intimate and close association with hardened, habitual and degenerate offenders.

Jails make little provision for working the prisoners, the majority being "simply locked up in cages like wild animals" with nothing to do. Under such conditions of idleness and mixing of the prisoners, the jail becomes a school of crime. Men degenerate physically, mentally and morally and are turned loose in the community, a greater danger than before imprisonment.

Management, Control and Supervision

The jails in Colonial Virginia were under the control of the Governor and Council, but in 1779 they were placed under the control of the judges of the county court, the system that has obtained until the present time. Thus the control of the jails from almost the beginning of the colony until the present time has been a matter for the local community. Local authorities, the supervisors and the courts, are responsible for the jail and treatment of prisoners. The State pays the bills for the maintenance of prisoners but the county controls the institution.

There is a tendency to take away the administration of the jails from the control of the local authorities and put them under the control of the State. For example, the more important prisoners have been taken over by the State. Under State control are the Virginia Penitentiary, the State Farm, the Convict Road Force, the Lime Grinding Plant, and the Farm for Defective Misdemeanants.[7]

The jail is managed and administered by the sheriff. Boards of supervisors have been principally appropriating bodies. The greatest influence the board of supervisors have had upon the jails has been in relation to the cost and nature of the construction of new jails. Outside of this the sheriff has been responsible for both policies and administration. The board of supervisors of each county with the approval of the Judge of the Circuit Court of the county, and the Council of each city, may from time to time prescribe, promulgate and enforce rules, not contrary to law, for the preservation of the property and health of the prisoners within their respective jurisdictions and for the government of the prisoners of the jail, and to their discipline for

7. Legislation of the Assembly of Virginia (1928) give the State Department of Public Welfare power to transfer prisoners from jail to jail or other suitable places of detention.

violation of the rules prescribed, and all provisions of law which the said board of supervisors or the said council, with the approval of the judges, may direct, shall be posted in at least six conspicuous places in the interior of said jail. In no jail visited were rules posted. A long set of rules is usually meaningless, but a few rules as to the condition of the jail, food, handling of prisoners, beds and bedding, sanitation and working, if enforced, would be valuable.

Some control of the local jail is exercised by the State. Monthly reports are made to the State Department of Public Welfare as to the number of prisoners in the jail during the preceding month. Such record is supposed to give the nature of the offense, together with the name, color, age, physical condition of the prisoner, length of term in jail, and whether or not the person is a confirmed drunkard or drug habitue. Such reports are necessary, but as a means of control they have little value. Monthly reports are made to the State Auditor as to the number of prisoners in order to collect the *per diem* fee.[8] The State Department of Public Welfare is charged with the task of inspecting the jails but the inspection can go no further than giving recommendations which it has no authority to enforce. Some control has been secured through publicity given to findings and the recommendations made. It depends largely for results upon coöperation by the jailers. With the increase of the State Department of Public Welfare's control greater changes may be expected to take place in the management of the county jail. The improvements so far in the jail situation no doubt are due to the increasing control of the local jail or prisoner by the State and to the increasing social intelligence and interest of local communities.

Physical Characteristics and Living Conditions

A brief description is given of each county jail.

Physical Equipment

Albemarle County

The Albemarle County jail is an old two-story building with a brick addition. There are seven rooms in the stone part which was built before the Civil War. The floor is of flag stone construction. The walls are thirty-six inches thick with small windows heavily barred with lattice work which very effectively prevents the entrance of either light

8. Legislation of the Assembly of Virginia (1928) give the State Department of Public Welfare the authority to withhold the pay vouchers if the jail card is not filled out.

or air. The location of the jail and the size of the windows prevent its proper lighting and ventilation, and the newer brick part is little better in this respect. The cells on the first floor are so dark that one can with difficulty distinguish prisoners in the rear of the cell. Buckets are still used.

Amherst County

The Amherst County jail is a two-story brick building twenty by thirty feet. The exterior of the building is in good repair considering the length of time the jail has been built. On the ground floor there are three rooms with two cages in one room to accommodate two persons per cage. One room is not used and the other one only occasionally. All three rooms are heated by the same stove.

The second floor has two rooms with a capacity for four persons in one room and two in the other. Both rooms are heated by the same stove. Light and ventilation are fairly adequate as compared with most jails. Drinking water is outside of the rooms upstairs and down. Buckets are used.

Arlington County

The Arlington County jail is a two-story brick structure of five rooms, four with cages. The jail has a capacity for forty prisoners. Light and ventilation are insufficient. The building is in bad repair. The health hazard is accentuated through overcrowding.

Augusta County

The Augusta County jail is a three-story stucco building with basement which is used as a kitchen. There is no opening on the north side for sunlight. On the west side there is one window on the first and second floors, but none on the third. Little light gets into the jail through these two windows since the windows are covered with dirt and another building is within two feet of the jail. On the east side there are no windows on the first floor, but one each on the second and third floors. On the south side there are five windows on each floor. There are twelve cells each on the first and second floors and five on the third floor.

Rockingham County

The Rockingham County jail is a brick building with eleven rooms, three with cages. The jail has a capacity for thirty prisoners. Light and ventilation are poor. Toilet and water facilities are inadequate. The building is in bad repair.

Wise County

The Wise County jail is a three-story brick building. Each floor has eight cells with accommodations for from two to four prisoners per cell. Each floor has two windows on the south, four on the east, two on the north, and one on the west side. The basement is used for women prisoners.

While the outward plan of construction of the county jails varies, there is great similarity of arrangement within. The usual arrangement of the cells is to place two rows of cells back to back in the center of the floor, a corridor running entirely around them, or at least on three sides. The corridor lies between the cells and the outside walls; it is the only unoccupied floor space. The cells are placed side by side, but without door from cell to cell. The usual arrangement is for the cell block to be divided by a steel partition, the cells opening at the end opposite the partition and toward the outer wall. All the jails in the counties studied were built years ago. They are badly constructed, poorly lighted and unsanitary. Facilities for isolating the sick or the infected are conspicuous by their absence. While sexes are separated, the plan of construction of the jail is poorly adapted to allow proper segregation. None of the jails have facilities for the detention of children, yet records indicate that a large number of such are detained.

Conditions Surrounding the Prisoners Living in the Cell.

The cell is living, sleeping, and dining room for the prisoner. As a rule he is in it for the largest part of the day. In a few cases there is a stationary toilet in the cell (two jails out of six studied). The beds are slung from the side of the wall, like bunks, taking up nearly half of the cell. There are straw mattresses with blankets, but no pillows. Belongings are placed wherever space can be found. Men lie on the bed, read, talk, write letters, play cards and spend the day as best they can in cramped quarters.

An editorial in the *News-Leader,* Richmond, on the jails of the State, gives such a fair statement of what was found in the six counties studied that it is quoted: "Wherever jail investigations have been made in this State (Virginia) as well as elsewhere, they have been found to be almost uniformly bad. The average jail is a disgrace to the State. Although the law prescribes decent conditions, lack of funds, indifference, and sometimes, political consideration operate to nullify such provisions. The result is that the prison quarters are crowded, uncomfortable, filthy, and frequently indecent The worst

of it is that men and women, young and old, confirmed criminals and first offenders, and even those under arrest awaiting action by the grand jury, are often herded in together. These conditions make the average jail a breeding-place for crime. The sheriff or jailor is neither by training nor inclination a penologist and he is paid a fee to underfeed each prisoner, who deteriorates physically, mentally and morally, while the jailor pockets the difference between the sum allowed him and the amount he spends on the inmates." [9]

Exercise and Recreation

Outdoor space is not available for exercise or if it exists it is not used. Only two jails had some yard space. It is generally recognized that opportunity for exercise and recreation is reasonable and ought to be provided. The only opportunity for exercise is in the corridor just outside the cells. Recreation should be considered not only from the standpoint of health, but as part of the plan of training or physical rehabilitation of the prisoner. Playing cards, story telling, reading and listening to occasional singing and preaching represent the extent of exercise of prisoners.

Occupation

Only a few trusties are allowed to do work about the jail. Trusties are men who are regarded as sufficiently dependable as to be allowed somewhat greater freedom of movement within the jail than others. The tasks performed by the trusties include washing the windows, corridors and other parts of the jail; assisting in the kitchen; delivering meals to the prisoners in their cells. In one case prisoners help on the county home farm and in two cases city prisoners lodged in the county jail worked on the city streets.

The difficulty of giving inmates of the county jail any opportunity for useful work is one of the strongest arguments for a change in its administration. Idleness is the result, in part, of the fact that persons awaiting trial cannot be compelled to work, and in part to the short term sentence of most of the other prisoners. They may sleep, they may exchange stories of criminal experience, they may brood over wrongs done them by society: But they may not work. The effect is to condemn the prisoners to a continued and enervating idleness. A well-known maxim is to the effect that idleness produces a mind more prone to mischief than does activity. For the prisoners who are in the

9. Editorial—"The Prison Farm," *The News-Leader*, Richmond, May 18, 1927.

jail for a few days, or for several weeks, the consequences are not so serious.

There is a growing sentiment in favor of some means of employing short time prisoners. The evil effects and the expense of keeping those serving sentence or laying out a fine in idleness in a county jail has long been apparent. It is cheaper and better to provide prisoners with employment; but to do so would tax the ingenuity of the sheriff.

Health Conditions

County jails are uniformly served by a visiting physician, whose main function may be summed up as follows: first, provide the ordinary medical treatment needed in the jail; second, administer physical and mental examinations to prisoners upon their admission to the jail. "A court may appoint a physician to attend prisoners in jail, and make him a reasonable allowance, not exceeding seventy-five cents a day for each day he attends a patient. When he attends more than one patient a day there may be allowed fifty cents a day for each additional patient." [10] The qualifications for appointment to the office of attending physician are not difficult to satisfy. No physicial examination is made of incoming prisoners. If the prisoner is sick the physician is called. The law says that "in the case of sickness of any prisoner he (jailor) shall provide for him adequate nursing and attendance; and if there be occasion for it, and circumstances will permit, shall confine him in an apartment separate from other prisoners." [11] No jail makes such provisions. The new emphasis being made by criminologists has found no place in the treatment of jail prisoners. No attempt is made to remove such physical handicaps of the prisoners as may be contributory to his delinquency. The treatment accorded the prisoners is best characterized by the term negligence.

Physical examinations are neglected, mental examinations are unknown. In view of the now well-known fact that a large portion of those who come to the jail suffer from some psychosis, the neglect of making a thorough study of prisoners cannot be justified.

Apparently no interest has been shown in the proper preparation of food, recreation and work, or provision for reasonable living quarters. No attention is given to corrective medical work. Surgical operations, correction of visual defects, treatment of tuberculosis and heart disease are some of the corrective services that might be undertaken with good profit to the community.

10. Code 1887, § 4956.
11. Code 1887, § 928, 1908, p. 390.

Sanitation

The physician's function at the jail has not extended to the question of sanitation. The importance of maintaining proper standards of sanitation is nothing more than insisting upon the normal standards that are set for our own homes. The character of the sanitation is usually a mirror of the general efficiency of the administration of the jail. A poorly kept and unsanitary jail is apt to indicate inefficient jail administration. Ventilation, light, cleanliness, bathing and washing are the chief items in institutional sanitation.

Since all the jails have the cell type of construction, it is with such that sanitation has to deal. Even with the best effort, it is difficult to ventilate the cell. In two jails a ventilating shaft had been constructed; both of these have been discontinued. The movement of air through the windows from the corridors strikes the front of the cell and does not penetrate. As a rule the windows are closed, thus shutting out the possibility of air coming in through them. The poor ventilation characteristic of the jails has contributed much to the lowering of the resistence of prisoners to disease. The unwholesome atmospheric conditions of the jail, the foul and heavy air, are due to the neglect of the most elementary principles of ventilation.

Lighting at best is poor. The outside windows are small and usually in such condition as to admit very little light, being as a rule not sufficient for one to read readily. There are no lights in the individual cells; lights are located in the corridor. In some cases there are no lights of any character in the jail.

Poor ventilation, bad light, insufficient clothing, low standards of personal cleanliness have helped to keep the general standard of cleanliness low. The walls of the jail are supposed to be whitewashed or painted at least once a year and the cells are best treated by being painted a battleship gray but this has been neglected. It should be said that conditions now in the jails are considerably higher than even a quarter century ago. The absence of vermin is hardly to be looked for as yet; the cells are seldom cleaned; bedding is changed or washed not more than twice a year, and in most cases only once. The reply of jailors to the question, "how often is bedding changed?" is invariably "as often as needed" or "don't know." Clean bedding for each new prisoner is unknown.

Washing and bathing practices are varied. Modern plumbing and sewerage facilities for cells do not exist. Hot water is the exception rather than the rule. A weekly bath is supposed to be taken, but the

enforcement of the bathing rule is rather slipshod. Prisoners may bathe as often as they wish or as often as water is available, but they do not have a change of clothing unless they happen to have a private supply.

Diet and Food Service

No adequate study of the food situation in the county jails is available. One would have to live at the jail and follow through the whole course for successive days in order to gain an idea of the food service. It can be said that the jails in these six counties are typical of institutions of their kind in the treatment of the food problem. The method of supplying food to prisoners and its character has undergone little change in Virginia during the last century. The system in vogue at present is the granting of definite allowances or fees by the State for the maintenance of prisoners to the sheriff or jailer. The per diem rate depends upon the number of prisoners in jail. Where the number of prisoners is 5 or less, the allowance is $1.00 per diem. This rate is reduced to 25 cents per diem where there are 25 or more prisoners. The care given prisoners based upon a fee system has more than passing interest, for like many other phases of jail administration it has attending evils. It means the opportunity for underfeeding of prisoners. The county jail is one of the sources of income of the sheriff and as such the income is derived from the savings he is able to effect at the expense of health and comfort of the inmates of the jail. How much profit a sheriff is able to make is not known. There is abundant evidence that jailors hold on to prisoners as long as possible. It might be advisable for the purchase of food to be made by others, leaving to the sheriff only the function of preparing and distributing it to the prisoners.

Food has always occupied considerable attention on the part of prisoners. This has led to a critical attitude on their part to the food served. It is true that the judgment of prisoners must always be taken with considerable caution, but one knowing the present methods of administration is justified in attributing some truth to their statements. If the diet of the prisoners is of first importance, it is hard to understand why jail officials have so consistently failed to adopt standards that would obviate the complaint of the prisoners. All are agreed that the health of prisoners should not be impaired while they are in the custody of the county. Since food is one of the essential items in their general welfare, the kind and amount should be subject to careful attention. It is the custom of the jailor to give

little thought to the nourishing and palatable qualities of the food. Meals are cooked and served unappetizingly. Essential elements of diet are omitted and men suffer from the monotony, unattractiveness and indigestibility of what they eat.

Food served should not be based upon the idea of making the inmates feel the punitive element of his imprisonment, but by its physiological effects. The human body needs certain amounts of different food, this embraces variety and interest. To secure variety prisoners who can, buy food, and some have food brought to them by friends and relatives. This fact may be an excuse for not giving a jail diet that is adequate and nourishing. From collected menus and conversations with prisoners and those who cook the food it is evident that there is too little of fruit, vegetables, and sugar served. None of the counties studied have adopted a reasonable basis for the feeding of prisoners.

So far as known there is no special diet for hospital patients or those suffering from some illness. For example, if a tubercular person gets into jail, there is no special diet for him. The same is true of other prisoners suffering with some ailment.

In no jail studied is there a mess hall, so meals are served in the cells. No efficient methods of service is in evidence. The whole matter of food and feeding has been influenced by the fact that those imprisoned need not be given the same consideration as an ordinary human being, with the result that the elementary principles of institutional administration have been neglected.

The jails serve two meals a day. In one jail the meals come at 8:30 and 1:30. A typical menu for a week is given.

Breakfast		Dinner
	Sunday	
Sorghum molasses		White beans
One-half loaf bread		Bacon
Coffee, rice		One-half loaf bread
	Monday	
Bacon		Potatoes
Brown gravy		Bacon
Biscuits		Onions
Coffee		One-half loaf bread
	Tuesday	
Fish		White beans
One-half loaf bread		Bacon
		Corn bread
	Wednesday	
Coffee		Bacon
One-half loaf bread		Beans
		Bread

Breakfast	Dinner
Thursday	
Coffee	Bread
One-half loaf bread	Meat
Friday	
Bacon	Bacon
Coffee	One-half loaf bread
One-half loaf bread	Coffee
Saturday	
Bacon	Potatoes
Eggs	Bacon
One-half loaf bread	Corn bread
Coffee	

The above dietary pattern is followed in the main in county jails. It is evident that lacking vegetables, fruits and sweets, butter and milk, the diet is monotonous. While the food served may be sufficient, it lacks in proper balance. It lacks variety. The preparation of food is unsatisfactory. The kind of food, its method of preparation and service, which is most unsatisfactory, is much the same today as it was one hundred years ago.

Classification of Prisoners

Classification of prisoners in county jails has been limited almost wholly to sex and color. Witnesses, civil prisoners, persons awaiting trial, convicted persons, prisoners serving time may and are kept in the county jail. It is not uncommon to place the insane in jail while making arrangements for their removal elsewhere. There is no separation of prisoners in the jail on the basis of their legal status.

Separation of sexes seems to have been taken for granted, but there is a lack of standards of separation, as well as satisfactory physical provisions for the separation of the sexes. It is not uncommon for male prisoners to have access to the part of the jail occupied by women. Prisoners are supposed to be separated as to color, but cases are known where the races are mixed. There is no separation of prisoners on the basis of age; young and old mingle together. The juvenile court statute provides for those under 18 years of age elsewhere than in the jail; but in most counties there is no place of detention except the jail. The establishment of reformatories has helped to separate juveniles and adults. Cases were found of 16 and 17 year old white girls in the same room with colored women past middle age who had made a name for themselves as undesirable citizens.

Four of the six county jails have a "Kangaroo Court." This is an organization of prisoners for the purpose of holding mock trials.

This court has its own jailer, sheriff, and clerk, and is administered under rules which are usually approved by the sheriff. As a form of self-government and as a means of enforcing cleanliness and order, it has something in its favor; but it has possibilities of injustice. Incoming prisoners are subjected to a mock trial for "breaking into jail" and a fine is imposed. The men do most of their own disciplining by means of the court. Prisoners are assigned certain tasks or are required to conduct themselves in a certain manner.

Characteristics of the Jail Population

The total number of commitments to the jails in the six counties studied are summarized in table 50, which shows, also, the ratio per thousand population.

TABLE 50

Commitments to Jail by Race and Sex, 1927

County	Male		Female		Total Commitments	Ratio Per 1,000 population
	White	Colored	White	Colored		
Albemarle	106	91	24	5	226	6.15
Amherst	75	118	1	2	196	9.60
Arlington	428	192	11	27	658	21.93
Augusta	293	96	26	9	424	9.02
Rockingham	310	31	31	5	377	10.58
Wise	421	34	51	7	513	9.07
Total	1,633	562	144	55	2,394	

It should be emphasized that these statistics do not necessarily represent an adequate index of the number of crimes actually occurring in the counties. A large number of law breakers are not apprehended. On the other hand some who are lodged in jail are not convicted. It seems that the amount of crime in any county or locality is only one of many factors which combine to determine the number of offenders who are imprisoned; the character of the local machinery and the policy of law enforcement influence the number of prisoners. Such factors vary in different communities.

The percentage of total commitments to jails by race and sex as given above is as follows: White, male 68.21 per cent, colored male, 23.47 per cent, white, female 6.02 per cent, colored, female 2.30 per cent. The ratio of commitments per county per thousand population is Albemarle 6.15, Amherst 9.60, Arlington 21.93, Augusta 9.02,

Rockingham 10.58, and Wise 9.07. Outside of Arlington County the ratio of commitments to population is rather uniform. There were many more male than female commitments in proportion to population. The number of white offenders exceeds that of the colored in proportion to population ratios.

It was not possible to attain a high degree of precision in classifying crimes, owing to the lack of uniformity in reporting in the different counties. A given term may be differently defined or applied in various counties. Many variations in reporting may represent differences in the nature of the offense or in the circumstances under which it was committed.

The list of offenses used for purposes of classification is essentially that outlined by the Bureau of Census in "Instructions for Compiling Criminal Statistics." This grouping throws some light upon the problem of dealing with crime upon the basis of the kind of people who commit them.

A detailed list of offenses is shown in table 51 which gives the number and percentage for each county by sex and race.

It would be highly desirable to actually live in the counties for months at a time for the purpose of reporting direct observations. But these tabulated charges as given by the jailor to the State Department of Public Welfare, plus the statement of residents give, it is felt, an accurate picture of existing conditions. They indicate the character of the crimes with which these counties must deal.

The commitments for drunkenness make up 21.05 per cent, and violation of liquor law 18.63 per cent of the total. A check in one county reveals that arrests for drunkenness predominate in the county seat and violating liquor laws in the rural section of the county. This may mean that drinking can go on in the isolation of the rural home without being detected. The charge of misdemeanor and felony is given because there was no way to break these up into specific charges. The percentage of commitments vary in some cases very sharply from county to county.

Table 52 shows the distribution by age of those committed to jail in the six counties during 1927. Comparisons with the population are made on the basis of those 14 years and over. There were commitments 13 years of age and under.

Among those committed to the jails a much larger proportion belonged to the earlier age periods than was the case with the total population. In the age group 14 and 15 years the commitments were 1.88 per cent of the total and 4.20 per cent of the total population. Com-

TABLE 51

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY OFFENSE: 1927

WHITE—MALE

Offense	Albemarle		Amherst		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Homicide	1	.94	....	.....	.....	.....	1	.34	.....	.....	2	.48
2. Rape	.....	.....	....	.....	2	.47	.....	.....	1	.32	.....	.....
3. Robbery	.....	.....	....	.....	5	1.17	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.24
4. Assault	.....	.....	....	.....	6	1.40	6	2.05	.....	.....	13	3.08
5. Burglary	.....	.....	1	1.33	9	2.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.48
6. Forgery	.....	.....	....	.....	3	.70	6	2.05	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Larceny	1	.94	....	.....	33	7.71	49	16.72	2	.65	23	5.46
8. Carrying weapons	.....	.....	....	.....	1	.23	2	.68	.....	.....	3	.71
9. Sex offense	.....	.....	....	.....	7	1.64	8	2.73	.....	.....	12	2.85
10. Non-support—Neglect of family	.....	.....	....	.....	15	3.50	11	3.76	4	1.29	8	1.90
11. Violating liquor law	28	26.42	31	41.33	35	8.18	57	19.46	169	54.52	40	9.50
12. Driving while intoxicated	.....	.....	....	.....	17	3.98	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	1.66
13. Drunkenness	.....	.....	....	.....	209	48.83	100	34.13	.....	.....	76	18.05
14. Disorderly conduct	.....	.....	....	.....	7	1.64	8	2.73	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. Vagrancy	.....	.....	....	.....	6	1.40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16. Violating traffic laws	.....	.....	....	.....	40	9.34	1	.34	.....	.....	.....	.....
17. Miscellaneous:												
a. Felony	22	20.75	6	8.00	.....	.....	2	.68	48	15.48	2	.48
b. Misdemeanor	40	37.74	30	40.00	.....	.....	4	1.37	80	25.80	8	1.90
c. No offense given	11	10.38	....	.....	20	4.67	30	10.24	2	.65	217	51.54
e. Gambling	.....	.....	....	.....	2	.47	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.24
f. Trespassing	.....	.....	3	4.00	2	.47	1	.34	.....	.....	.....	.....
g. Violating parole	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	3	1.02	.....	.....	.....	.....
h. Held for others	3	2.83	....	.....	.....	.....	4	1.36	4	1.29	6	1.43
i. Not classified	.....	.....	4	5.33	9	2.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	106	100.00	75	100.00	428	100.00	293	100.00	310	100.00	421	100.00

TABLE 51—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY OFFENSE: 1927

WHITE—FEMALE

Offense	Albemarle		Amherst		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Homicide	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. Rape	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. Robbery	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Assault	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.85	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. Burglary	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. Forgery	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Larceny	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	1	3.85	.....	.....	3	5.88
8. Carrying weapons	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9. Sex offense	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.85	.....	.....	31	60.79
10. Non-support—Neglect of family	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11. Violating liquor law	14	58.33	....	.....	2	18.18	4	15.37	6	19.35	2	3.92
12. Driving while intoxicated	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13. Drunkenness	.....	.....	....	.....	3	27.27	3	11.54	.....	.....	3	5.88
14. Disorderly conduct	.....	.....	....	.....	2	18.18	9	34.62	.....	.....	1	1.96
15. Vagrancy	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16. Violating traffic laws	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
17. Miscellaneous:												
a. Felony	1	4.17	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	22.58	.....	.....
b. Misdemeanor	8	33.33	1	100.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	58.07	.....	.....
c. No offense given	1	4.17	....	.....	.....	.....	3	11.54	.....	.....	11	21.57
e. Gambling	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
f. Trespassing	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
g. Violating parole	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	3	11.54	.....	.....	.....	.....
h. Held for others	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.83	.....	.....	.....	.....
i. Not classified	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	24	100.00	1	100.00	11	100.00	26	100.00	31	100.00	51	100.00

TABLE 51—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY OFFENSE: 1927

COLORED—MALE

Offense	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
1. Homicide	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. Rape	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. Robbery	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	2.08	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Assault	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	7.81	9	9.38	.....	.....	1	2.94
5. Burglary	1	1.10	.....	.....	3	1.56	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. Forgery	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.52	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Larceny	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	6.77	18	18.75	.....	.....	5	14.71
8. Carrying weapons	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1.04	1	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....
9. Sex offense	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	3.13	1	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. Non-support—Neglect of family	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	3.65	2	2.08	.....	.....	.....	.....
11. Violating liquor law	7	7.69	5	4.24	14	7.29	10	10.42	10	32.26	.....	.....
12. Driving while intoxicated	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	5.21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13. Drunkenness	.....	.....	.....	.....	56	29.17	38	39.58	.....	.....	3	8.82
14. Disorderly conduct	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4.17	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. Vagrancy	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	5.73	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16 Violating traffic laws	.....	.....	.....	.....	29	15.11	2	2.08	.....	.....	.....	.....
17. Miscellaneous:												
a. Felony	39	42.86	12	10.17	1	.52	.....	.....	2	6.45	2	5.88
b. Misdemeanor	34	37.36	64	54.24	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	61.29	2	5.88
c. No offense given	9	9.89	.....	.....	11	5.73	8	8.34	.....	.....	20	58.83
e. Gambling	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.52	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
f. Trespassing	.....	.....	5	4.24	2	1.04	1	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....
g. Violating parole	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
h. Held for others	1	1.10	.....	.....	1	.52	2	2.08	.....	.....	1	2.94
i. Not classified	.....	.....	32	27.12	5	2.60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	91	100.00	118	100.00	192	100.00	96	100.00	31	100.00	34	100.00

TABLE 51—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY OFFENSE: 1927

COLORED—FEMALE

Offense	Albemarle		Amherst		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise		Grand Total Six Counties	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Homicide	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.17
2. Rape	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.13
3. Robbery	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	.46
4. Assault	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.70	2	22.22	.....	.....	.....	.....	54	2.26
5. Burglary	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.67
6. Forgery	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.42
7. Larceny	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.70	1	11.11	.....	.....	.....	.....	151	6.31
8. Carrying weapons	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	.38
9. Sex offense	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	11.11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69	2.88
10. Non-support—Neglect of family	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47	1.96
11. Violating liquor law	1	20.00	.....	.....	8	29.64	3	33.33	.....	.....	.....	.....	446	18.63
12. Driving while intoxicated	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	1.42
13. Drunkenness	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	37.04	3	33.33	.....	.....	2	28.57	506	21.05
14. Disorderly conduct	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31	1.30
15. Vagrancy	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	.79
16. Violating traffic laws	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	73	3.05
17. Miscellaneous:														
a. Felony	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	20.00	.....	.....	145	6.06
b. Misdemeanor	3	60.00	2	100.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	80.00	.....	.....	317	13.24
c. No offense given	1	20.00	.....	.....	2	7.41	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	71.43	351	14.66
e. Gambling	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.17
f. Trespassing	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	.58
g. Violating parole	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.25
h. Held for others	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23	.96
i. Not classified	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	51	2.13
Total	5	100.00	2	100.00	27	100.00	9	100.00	5	100.00	7	100.00	2,394	100.00

TABLE 52

COMMITMENTS TO JAILS BY AGES: 1927

WHITE—MALE

Age	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
12 to 13 years	.....	.....	....	.....	1	.23	1	.34	2	.65	.....	.....
14 to 15 years	1	.94	1	1.33	.....	.....	6	2.05	1	.32	20	4.74
16 to 17 years	3	2.83	5	6.66	5	1.16	13	4.43	13	4.19	18	4.27
18 to 20 years	18	16.98	15	20.00	62	14.48	50	17.06	53	17.09	51	12.11
21 to 24 years	15	14.15	20	26.66	101	23.59	74	25.25	70	22.58	99	23.51
25 to 34 years	31	29.24	17	22.66	146	34.08	70	23.88	85	27.41	154	36.57
35 to 44 years	28	26.41	8	10.66	65	15.18	37	12.62	45	14.51	47	11.16
45 to 54 years	6	5.66	5	6.66	31	7.24	24	8.18	26	8.38	24	5.70
55 to 64 years	3	2.83	....	.....	14	3.26	12	3.99	6	1.93	4	.95
65 years and over	.....	.....	1	1.33	3	.69	2	.68	7	2.25	1	.24
Age unknown	1	.94	3	4.00	.....	.....	4	1.36	2	.65	3	.71
Total	106	100.00	75	100.00	428	100.00	293	100.00	310	100.00	421	100.00

WHITE—FEMALE

Age	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
12 to 13 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14 to 15 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	2	7.69	4	12.90	5	9.80
16 to 17 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	9	34.61	2	6.45	3	5.88
18 to 20 years	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	9	34.61	4	12.90	21	41.18
21 to 24 years	6	24.98	....	.....	3	27.27	2	7.70	7	22.58	10	19.61
25 to 34 years	13	54.17	....	.....	5	45.45	4	15.38	6	19.30	9	17.64
35 to 44 years	3	12.51	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	22.58	3	5.88
45 to 54 years	1	4.17	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
55 to 64 years	1	4.17	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
65 years and over	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Age unknown	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.23	.....	.....
Total	24	100.00	....	.....	11	100.00	26	100.00	31	100.00	51	100.00

TABLE 52—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAILS BY AGES: 1927

COLORED—MALE

Age	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
12 to 13 years	.....	.....	....	.....	1	.52	.....	.....	3	9.67	.....	.....
14 to 15 years	2	2.19	1	.85	1	.52	.....	.....	3	9.67	1	2.94
16 to 17 years	5	5.49	12	10.17	1	.52	3	3.12	5	16.12	2	5.88
18 to 20 years	14	15.38	11	9.32	16	8.37	9	9.38	8	25.80	1	2.94
21 to 24 years	17	18.68	38	32.20	46	24.08	14	14.58	5	16.12	5	14.70
25 to 34 years	26	28.57	32	27.11	64	33.50	29	30.20	4	12.90	12	35.28
35 to 44 years	14	15.38	9	7.62	34	17.79	21	21.88	2	6.45	12	35.28
45 to 54 years	6	6.59	8	6.78	14	7.32	14	14.58	....	.....	.....	.....
55 to 64 years	3	3.29	4	3.38	10	5.24	3	3.12	....	.....	1	2.94
65 years and over	4	4.39	....	.....	1	.52	1	1.04	....	.....	.....	.....
Age unknown	.....	.....	3	2.54	3	1.56	2	2.08	1	3.22	.....	.....
Total	91	100.00	118	100.00	191	100.00	96	100.00	31	100.00	34	100.00

COLORED—FEMALE

Age	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
12 to 13 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....
14 to 15 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....
16 to 17 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	11.11	....	.....	1	14.29
18 to 20 years	3	60.00	....	.....	6	22.22	3	33.33	1	20.00	2	28.58
21 to 24 years	.....	.....	....	.....	5	18.51	.....	.....	2	40.00	.....	.....
25 to 34 years	2	40.00	2	100.00	8	29.62	2	22.22	2	40.00	3	42.87
35 to 44 years	.....	.....	....	.....	7	25.92	1	11.11	....	.....	1	14.29
45 to 54 years	.....	.....	....	.....	1	3.70	1	11.11	....	.....	.....	.....
55 to 64 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	11.11	....	.....	.....	.....
65 years and over	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....
Age unknown	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....
Total	5	100.00	2	100.00	27	100.00	9	100.00	5	100.00	7	100.00

mitments 16 and 17 years of age constitute 4.14 per cent of the total and 3.95 per cent of the total population. In theory those 18 years of age and under are not sent to jail, yet the commitments for ages 16 and 17 exceed the population ratio. The jail commitment for ages 21 to 44 is nearly double that of the similar population group being 66.61 per cent and 34.88 per cent, respectively. The percentage of prisoners 45 years of age and above is considerably smaller than the percentage of the total population above that age, the percentage being 12.17 for those committed, and 20.12 for the adult population.

The relative extent to which each age group of the population contributed to the number of those committed can best be judged by comparing the number of commitments per thousand population of the same age group. The distribution of commitments during 1927 as compared with the total population 14 years of age and over in 1920 is given in table 53.

TABLE 53

COMMITMENTS PER THOUSAND POPULATION COMPARED TO SAME AGE GROUP IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

Age	Population 14 years of age and over—1920		Commitments	
	Number	Per cent Distribution	Number	Per thousand population
14 to 15 years	8,500	6.50	45	5.29
16 to 17 years	8,137	6.22	99	12.22
18 to 20 years	11,021	8.43	356	32.36
21 to 44 years	64,892	49.64	1,616	24.96
45 years and over	38,220	29.24	247	6.46

Those from 16 to 20 years of age contributed more commitments in proportion to their number than among other age groups. The ratio per thousand population for this age group is more than three times the percentage distribution of population. The striking decrease in the commitment ratio for the age group 21 to 44 years and 45 years and over presumably reflects a similar decline in the total number of lawbreakers in proportion to population. This may mean that the habits of most persons become largely fixed during childhood and youth.

In the 2,394 commitments to the jails, the occupation of 2,198 were obtained. The distribution of occupation is as given in table 54.

TABLE 54

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY OCCUPATION: 1927

WHITE—MALE

Occupation	Albemarle		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry	16	15.09	7	1.64	17	5.80	11	3.55	72	17.10
Extraction of minerals	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	189	44.89
Manufacturing, mechanical industries	18	16.98	121	28.26	16	5.45	15	4.84	13	3.09
Transportation and communication	3	2.83	7	1.62	1	.34	3	.97	.....	.....
Trade	4	3.77	36	8.39	5	1.70	4	1.29	5	1.19
Public service	.....	.....	31	7.22	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.48
Professional service	.....	.....	8	1.87	1	.34	1	.32	2	.48
Domestic—Personnel service	5	4.70	46	10.74	2	.68	3	.97	15	3.56
Clerical	1	.94	47	10.98	1	.34	.....	.....	4	.95
Common labor	44	41.50	102	23.83	240	81.94	266	85.80	69	16.39
No occupation given	15	14.10	23	5.37	10	3.41	7	2.26	50	11.87
Total	106	100.00	428	100.00	293	100.00	310	100.00	421	100.00

WHITE—FEMALE

Occupation	Albemarle		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Extraction of minerals	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Manufacturing, mechanical industries	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Transportation and communication	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Trade	1	4.17	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Public service	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Professional service	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Domestic—Personnel service	18	75.00	7	63.63	23	88.46	20	64.52	11	21.57
Clerical	.....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Common labor	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.85	.....	.....	.....	.....
No occupation given	5	20.83	3	27.27	2	7.69	11	35.48	40	78.43
Total	24	100.00	11	100.00	26	100.00	31	100.00	51	100.00

TABLE 54—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY OCCUPATION: 1927

COLORED—MALE

Occupation	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry	2	2.20	.....	.....	1	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....
Extraction of minerals	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	70.60
Manufacturing, mechanical industries	3	3.30	8	4.16	3	3.13	.....	.....	.....	.....
Transportation and communication	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2.94
Trade	1	1.10	.....	.....	1	1.04	.....	.....	1	2.94
Public service	.....	.....	4	2.08	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Professional service	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2.94
Domestic—Personnel service	12	13.20	20	10.42	5	5.21	4	12.90	3	8.82
Clerical	.....	.....	2	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Common labor	65	71.41	153	79.70	85	88.54	24	77.43	2	5.88
No occupation given	8	8.79	5	2.60	1	1.04	3	9.67	2	5.88
Total	91	100.00	192	100.00	96	100.00	31	100.00	34	100.00

COLORED—FEMALE

Occupation	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %	Grand Total No.	Grand Total %
Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	126	5.73
Extraction of minerals	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	213	9.69
Manufacturing, mechanical industries	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	197	8.96
Transportation and communication	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	.68
Trade	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	58	2.64
Public service	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37	1.68
Professional service	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	.59
Domestic—Personnel service	5	100.00	26	96.30	9	100.00	5	100.00	6	85.71	245	11.15
Clerical	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	56	2.55
Common labor	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1051	47.82
No occupation given	.....	.....	1	3.70	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	14.28	187	8.51
Total	5	100.00	27	100.00	9	100.00	5	100.00	7	100.00	2198	100.00

The divisions used by the United States Bureau of Census have been followed in classifying the occupations of those coming into jail. Classification of prisoners by occupation has been a difficult task because of the failure of the jailor to record information specifically. Thus a man may be put down as an engineer, but no hint is given as to whether he is a civil, electrical, mechanical or railroad engineer. The term "laborer" is used but one cannot tell whether it means "farm laborer," construction or some other type of unskilled laborer.

It was not possible to obtain the percentage of the total population for each of the major occupational divisions used. A comparison between the commitments to jails on an occupational basis with the corresponding population is as follows:

Occupation	Percentage of	
	Population	Commitments
Agricultural pursuits	45.33	5.73
Manufacturing pursuits	16.64	8.96
Trade and transportation	11.16	3.36
Professional service	3.23	.55
Domestic and personal service	23.64	11.45
Extraction of minerals	.....	9.69
Public service	.....	1.68
Clerical service	.....	2.55
Common labor	.....	47.42
No occupation given	.....	8.61

The comparison between the percentage of the total population and the percentage of the commitments in reference to agricultural pursuits is quite favorable and less so for manufacturing pursuits and domestic and personal service. The ratio is 9 to 1 for the former and 2 to 1 for the latter two. It may be that a considerable number of commitments listed under "common labor" should be classed under the agricultural heading. If so, this would change the ratio.

Something of the character of the occupations represented is presented in the following paragraphs.

The 197 commitments under manufacturing and mechanical industries were subdivided as follows:

Occupation	Number
Carpenter	46
Painter	44
Mechanic	41
Plumber	14
Electrician	10
Auto mechanic	9
Plasterer	6
Iron worker	2
Baker	2

Occupation	Number
Tinner	2
Tailor	2
Stone mason	1
Cement mixer	1
Roofer	1
Blacksmith	1
Miller	1
Machine operator	1
Machinist	1

Under transportation and communication there were fifteen commitments listed as follows:

Occupation	Number
Engineer	3
Motorman	3
Railroad conductor	2
Teamster	1
Station agent	1
Freight agent	1
Radio operator	1
Motion picture operator	1
Street car conductor	1
Brakeman	1

Fifty-nine commitments are listed under trade:

Occupation	Number
Merchant	13
Salesman	12
Butcher	4
Bootlegger	5
Foreman	6
Piano tuner	3
Sign poster	2
Insurance agent	2
Manager	2
Real estate agent	1
Ice man	1
Floor sweeper	1
Collector	1
Shoemaker	1
Undertaker	1
Bank teller	1
Florist	1
Banker	1

Public service lists 37 commitments:

Occupation	Number
Soldier	27
Fireman	4
Sailor	3
Navigator	1
Watchman	1
Guard	1

For professional service there were 16 commitments:

Occupation	Number
Physician	3
Student	3
Architect	3
Veterinary	1
Attorney	1
Musician	1
Bookman	1

Domestic and Personal service lists 245 commitments:

Occupation	Number
Chauffeur	73
Housekeeper	51
Cook	41
Housewife	41
Servant	16
Barber	8
Waiter	7
Janitor	5
Messenger	2
Hair dresser	1
Cleaner	1

The clerical division lists 56 commitments:

Occupation	Number
Clerk	50
Bookkeeper	3
Office	2
Stenographer	1

"Common labor" is credited with 1051 commitments and "no occupation given" is listed with 187 commitments.

The facts as indicated above might be cited by the casual reader to prove that some direct relationship exists between adult delinquency and occupation. Actually, no general conclusion can be drawn, as we have no reliable data on the relative proportion in the general population of the same economic status as those placed in jail. For all we know the non-delinquent of the same economic status might be found to fall into identical occupational groups as delinquents.

Of the 2,394 commitments to jails the nature of the sentence is given in table 55.

Outside of the heading "no sentence given," which has 33.17 per cent of the cases, the largest number of sentences given 23.73 per cent come under the term "fine," 6.89 per cent were given a sentence of 30 days or less. Of those committed to jail 6.18 per cent were dismissed when their case came to trial. This is significant in interpret-

TABLE 55

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY SENTENCE: 1927

WHITE—MALE

Sentence	Albemarle		Amherst		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
30 days or less	6	5.66	15	20.00	8	1.87	19	6.49	32	10.32	10	2.38
60 days	4	3.77	1	1.33	1	.23	10	3.41	5	1.61	10	2.38
3 months	13	12.27	4	5.33	1	.23	7	2.39	8	2.58	17	4.04
4 months	1	.94	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	.34	9	2.90	1	.24
5 months	1	.94	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 months	14	13.21	3	4.00	4	.93	9	3.08	38	12.26	13	3.08
7 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	1.61	.....	.....
8 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	2.58	.....	.....
9 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.24
1 year	8	7.55	1	1.33	2	.47	4	1.37	15	4.84	9	2.14
2 years	1	.94	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	1.94	.....	.....
4 years	1	.94	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.65	.....	.....
5 years	1	.94	....	.....	.....	.....	1	.34	.....	.....	1	.24
6 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	3	1.02	.....	.....	.....	.....
11 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
No sentence given	32	30.19	....	.....	69	16.13	130	44.37	165	53.23	245	58.18
Witness	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dismissed	3	2.83	10	13.33	59	13.79	16	5.46	1	.32	1	.24
Nolle processed	.....	.....	....	.....	2	.47	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appealed	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	.34	.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of public welfare	1	.94	4	5.33	3	.70	7	2.39	9	2.90	12	2.85
Bail	.....	.....	6	8.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bond	.....	.....	....	.....	39	9.12	30	10.24	.....	.....	2	.48
Fine	.....	.....	19	25.33	208	48.60	47	16.04	4	1.29	99	23.51
Support—Family	.....	.....	....	.....	3	.70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grand jury	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	3	1.02	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for other authorities	.....	.....	....	.....	5	1.17	2	.68	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hospital	1	.94	1	1.33	.....	.....	3	1.02	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for trial	19	17.93	10	13.33	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.97	.....	.....
Held for court	.....	.....	....	.....	24	5.59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	106	100.00	75	100.00	428	100.00	293	100.00	310	100.00	421	100.00

TABLE 55—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY SENTENCE: 1927

WHITE—FEMALE

Sentence	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %
30 days or less	3	12.50	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	16.13	9	17.65
60 days	3	12.50	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	6.45	4	7.84
3 months	7	29.17	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	5.88
4 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 months	6	25.00	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	19.35	.....	.....
7 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.23	.....	.....
8 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9 months	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 year	3	12.50	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3.23	.....	.....
2 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12 years	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
No sentence given	2	8.33	....	.....	1	9.09	10	38.46	12	38.70	12	23.53
Witness	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dismissed	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	1	3.85	1	3.23	.....	.....
Nolle processed	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appealed	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of public welfare	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	3	11.54	3	9.68	4	7.84
Bail	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bond	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	9	34.61	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fine	.....	.....	....	.....	5	45.45	1	3.85	.....	.....	19	37.26
Support—Family	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grand jury	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for other authorities	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hospital	.....	.....	1	100.00	.....	.....	2	7.69	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for trial	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for court	.....	.....	....	.....	1	9.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	24	100.00	1	100.00	11	100.00	26	100.00	31	100.00	51	100.00

TABLE 55—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY SENTENCE: 1927

COLORED—MALE

Sentence	Albemarle		Amherst		Arlington		Augusta		Rockingham		Wise	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
30 days or less	7	7.69	27	22.88	8	4.17	11	11.46	3	9.67	2	5.88
60 days	2	2.20	3	2.54	2	1.04	2	2.08	4	12.90	1	2.94
3 months	8	8.79	7	5.93	2	1.04	4	4.17	.....	.....	1	2.94
4 months	4	4.40	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.04	1	3.23	.....	.....
5 months	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 months	7	7.69	8	6.78	5	2.60	3	3.13	4	12.90	1	2.94
7 months	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8 months	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9 months	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.52	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 year	9	9.89	4	3.39	2	1.04	.....	.....	1	3.23	.....	.....
2 years	3	3.30	.....	.....	2	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11 years	1	1.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12 years	1	1.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
No sentence given	25	27.47	.....	.....	16	8.34	26	27.07	17	54.84	17	50.00
Witness	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.52	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dismissed	.....	.....	14	11.86	26	13.55	10	10.42	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nolle processed	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.52	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appealed	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.04	.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of public welfare	2	2.20	22	18 64	2	1.04	5	5.21	1	3.23	1	2.94
Bail	.....	.....	1	.85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bond	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	7.82	6	6.25	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fine	.....	.....	18	15.26	95	49.48	24	25.00	.....	.....	11	32.36
Support—Family	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1.56	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grand jury	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for other authorities	.....	.....	4	3.39	6	3.13	3	3.13	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hospital	.....	.....	6	5.09	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for trial	22	24.17	4	3.39	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Held for court	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	2.60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	91	100.00	118	100.00	192	100.00	96	100.00	31	100.00	34	100.00

TABLE 55—continued

COMMITMENTS TO JAIL BY SENTENCE: 1927

COLORED—FEMALE

Sentence	Albemarle No.	Albemarle %	Amherst No.	Amherst %	Arlington No.	Arlington %	Augusta No.	Augusta %	Rockingham No.	Rockingham %	Wise No.	Wise %	Grand Total No.	Grand Total %
30 days or less	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	165	6.89
60 days	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	54	2.26
3 months	2	40.00	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	84	3.51
4 months	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	19	.79
5 months	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	1	.04
6 months	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	11.11	....	.....	....	.....	122	5.10
7 months	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	6	.25
8 months	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	8	.33
9 months	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	2	.08
1 year	....	.....	1	50.00	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	60	2.51
2 years	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	12	.50
4 years	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	3	.13
5 years	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	3	.13
6 years	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	3	.13
11 years	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	1	.04
12 years	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	1	.04
No sentence given	3	60.00	....	.....	2	7.41	3	33.33	4	80.00	4	57.14	794	33.17
Witness	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	1	.04
Dismissed	....	.....	....	.....	2	7.41	2	22.22	1	20.00	....	.....	148	6.18
Nolle processed	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	3	.13
Appealed	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	2	.08
Department of public welfare	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	11.11	....	.....	....	.....	81	3.38
Bail	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	7	.29
Bond	....	.....	1	50.00	3	11.11	1	11.11	....	.....	....	.....	107	4.47
Fine	....	.....	....	.....	14	51.85	1	11.11	....	.....	3	42.86	568	23.73
Support—Family	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	6	.25
Grand jury	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	3	.13
Held for other authorities	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	21	.88
Hospital	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	14	.58
Held for trial	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	58	2.42
Held for court	....	.....	....	.....	6	22.22	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	36	1.50
Total	5	100.00	2	100.00	27	100.00	9	100.00	5	100.00	7	100.00	2394	100.00

ing the courts in relation to the problem of detention. One month, six months, three months, two years seem to be the popular sentences in terms of time.

The able-bodied long-time jail prisoners are sent to the road camps maintained by the State. Of the prisoners unfit to work on the roads some are confined for such a short term that it is not economical to transport them to the State Farm for Misdemeanants. The purpose of the Farm for Misdemeanants is to take those prisoners who are defective, mentally or physically, for work on the roads, and put them to lighter work in the open air. There are hundreds who, while not capable of hard work, are able to do light farm work. As the above list of sentences indicate, there are large numbers whose sentence is so short that it is inadvisable to remove them from the local jail.

The Sheriff and the Jail.

The sheriff is responsible for the administration of the county jail. As a rule, the sheriff takes office without experience in jail administration. The jailors are appointed by the sheriff as a matter of patronage. Jails are usually undermanned there being as a rule one underpaid jailor and no nightwatchman, and it is not uncommon for the jailor's wife to be responsible for the care of the jail in his absence.

It would seem that too many people are committed to the county jail. A study of police court and jail records indicates that arrests are made indiscriminately and that too many are held in jail through an unintelligent system of court and police procedure. The sheriff in Virginia as elsewhere is rated on the basis of the number of actual offenders brought to justice rather than on crime prevented. This grows out of the prevalent conception of the function of the sheriff.

The person arrested in the ordinary course of law enforcement is a prisoner of the Commonwealth of Virginia. If the prisoner is sent to jail, either awaiting trial or to serve a term, or until certain costs are paid, the State pays the sheriff a daily sum for the prisoners keep. This sum varies from 25 cents to $1.00 per day, according to the number of prisoners and the size of the jail. In addition certain extras are paid for registering persons in and out, for clothing and medical attendance. In some counties, where the jail population is small, the sheriff gets little pay.

The Court and the Jail

The county court and the police court are the principal gateways to the county jail. The jurisdiction of these courts extends to both civil

and criminal cases. It is before the county court and the police court of the city that come "the cases of the illiterate, the unskilled laborer, the wrecks of humanity drifting aimlessly about from place to place and the youthful offenders caught in the toils of the law. Dealing with such a nondescript group of offenders, most of whom are not vicious but victims of circumstances and environment the judge has need of wisdom in giving justice to them." [12] Standing in the court and seeing the unfortunates brought up for "trial," one cannot but have a feeling that not enough attention is given to the investigation of the antecedents of the offender. The party before the court is the main concern. "Scores of victims are driven through without opportunity for investigation or explanation—driven through like cattle through a branding pen, hearing, with scarcely an opportunity for denial, the judgment and the penalty." [13] Persons pass through the police courts and are sentenced to jail with no adequate investigation of their record, their heredity, or the environment that produced them. There is little or no attempt to protect society from a repetition of the crime which first brought them into jail. If a poor man commits a minor offense for which the penalty is a fine, and if he is unable to pay the fine immediately he is confined in jail and his family deprived of the means of support. This situation is all too common.

A wise handling by the judge may save many such unfortunates for future usefulness, while ill-advised proceedings and judgments rendered may result in sending others on the way to more serious crimes. Information on the social and economic conditions should play an important part in the trial.

A wise discretion by the judge is needed to appraise those who come before him. For most of the persons concerned, appearance in the court represents their only contact with the law and from this contact they get their impression of justice. The passing of judgment upon the cases of so many unfortunate, discouraged, and unknown people, together with those who are criminal at heart, requires an understanding, human, upright, and wise administrator of the law. The most learned, skilled, patient, efficient and experienced judges that the community can secure are needed to try these cases properly, and from the standpoint of checking criminal careers and saving useful producers and protecting life and property, there is great hope in such a task.

In the December (1927) *Forum* Judge Ben Lindsay sketches in broad outline what he calls "The House of Human Welfare." In it,

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12. Hoffer, Frank W., *Public and Private Welfare,* Roanoke, Virginia, 1928, pp. 57-58.
13. County Government and Administration in Iowa, Vol. IV, p. 333, quoted from an address of Judge M. J. Wade before the Iowa Bar Association.

he says, "In every city and town in the United States and every county-seat, if you like, there should be....a sanctuary to which the weary and heavy-laden, and the spiritually and physically sick, could come or be brought for help. Its purpose would be, not to punish people, but to save them. If they could be saved only by punishment, it would punish; but not otherwise. If society were imperiled by their being at liberty, it would imprison them; but not otherwise. Revenge would be no part of its program. Its work would be medicinal, restorative." This he says can be done by making "the court a channel through which a large number of humanitarian agencies could coördinate while they function. The work of such a 'House of Human Welfare' would be as various as human need. Its concern would be the spiritual, physical and economic health of human beings. Its work would be preventive as well as curative. It would do more than pull people out of trouble, it would try to teach them how to live. To this end it would invite their confidences and their confessions without any attempt at impertinent prying ..... As such, it would make confession possible as to a physician; and it would be sufficiently personal to be sympathetic and intimate in its approach." [14]

Jail Records and Reports

A jail card is made out for each prisoner and sent to the State Department of Public Welfare the first of each month, but beyond this as a rule no record is available at the jail and yearly reports are not prepared. No social history of the prisoner is secured.

Records should be available so the jailor or anyone else who has occasion to use the record can secure a prompt, accurate and complete statement of the prisoners in jail. One should be able to obtain from the records a picture of the jail population on any given day or for a longer period. It is evident that judged by these standards the reports of the jailors are very deficient. The record should reveal, (1) number of prisoners; (2) their social and economic status; (3) his previous criminal record; and (4) his medical and disciplinary treatment while in jail.

A study of the county jail system of Virginia reveals an institution as old as the State and in many of its present day practices there is a closer kinship to those of Colonial days than to modern methods of penology: physical conditions on the whole are unwholesome; idleness prevails; the fee system obtains; assessing a fine is the characteristic sentence. A bright spot in the picture is the increasing State control.

14. Lindsay, Judge Ben, *Forum*, December 1927.

CHAPTER XI

Character-Building and Recreational Agencies

Leisure Time and Human Welfare

CHARACTER-BUILDING and recreational values are to be found in nearly all forms of primary human association. Family life, play and neighborhood groups, religious, fraternal, civic, educational, professional and business organizations take up leisure time and directly or indirectly provide the individual with leisure time activities; and at the same time train him for participation in community affairs. Many of the recreational and social activities of these organizations are incidental to some other purpose; nevertheless, they are very important in the lives of many people and in generating neighborly feeling and upright living. It is important to know how such activities bear upon welfare problems and the extent of the provisions for them.

The character-building and recreational agencies here described offer programs for the leisure time activities of individuals, especially youth. While the problems of recreation or character-building of the individual are always in the foreground they are viewed in relation to the group and community of which the person is a member. Attention is directed to the agencies which endeavor to give the individual a chance to use his spare time in the direction of:

1. Recreation.
2. Health development.
3. Character-building.
4. Development of talents.
5. Participation in social activities.

The type and extent of recreational and social activities depend largely on the size of the community. The larger it is the greater the variety of such activities are, and the wider is the gap between the leisure time activities of different age groups and different classes in the population.

As yet little information is available on the therapeutic value of the leisure time activities of the character-building and recreational agencies, yet enough seems to be known to warrant the statement that such agencies have a vital part to play in a welfare program. As a part of the preventive program of welfare, "these agencies take up the leisure time of youth and provide such leisure time activities as

will build muscle and nerves; develop vital organs; give virility, resistance and sense of power; lay the basis of sound mental life; train emotions; develop sound attitudes toward others; broaden sympathies; give practice in social action, fair play, and good sportsmanship; and provide natural education in democratic citizenship."[1] Such leisure time activities provide the means of creative effort, satisfies the hunger for legitimate expression of beauty and accomplishment, and gives the sense of adventure, thrills, joys, and heightened experience necessary for a well rounded personality.

While the pervasive influence of the work of these agencies perhaps cannot be statistically stated, there is a feeling that they have a tremendously strong personal and community influence, effective in preventing human wreckage on one hand and in furthering human happiness on the other. Welfare workers interested in a preventive program as well as a curative one, have it within their power somehow to see that an understanding of the great potentialities of the character-building and recreational agencies become a part of the social intelligence of the community, and get adequately organized in the welfare program of a county or community. The aim of welfare workers might well be to work out a character-building and recreational program for each community, based upon its social and industrial conditions, aimed at serving young and old. Only by giving positive and adequate attention to it can the spare time of youth and adults be constructively used. The community or county that fails to provide for leisure time activities may well be charged with neglecting to satisfy the natural impulses of its people. Leisure time activities are now recognized as an essential element in the preparation for a vigorous physical, intellectual, and social maturity and should be satisfied through facilities provided by community, municipal, and county effort, and should not be left to chance development or individual or commercial effort.

The constructive use of the leisure time of both young and old, is of such supreme importance to general welfare that provisions for recreation have become a public duty and responsibility. It should be clearly understood that playgrounds and community centers are something more than places for working off surplus energy and keeping children out of mischief. It is a place where people form permanent associations. The play group is recognized as one of the most

1. Hoffer, Frank W., *Public and Private Welfare*, Roanoke, Virginia, 1928, p. 63.

important factors in defining and forming the character of the individual. In the village type of neighborhood, where everyone was known, the social relationships of the young people as well as adults were directed by the primary controls of group opinion. But with the growth of cities and the coming of the automobile, commercial recreational places have assumed a place of major importance. People are drawn from widely scattered sections to these centers. The old primary controls have broken down. Primary and intimate behavior is developed upon the basis of secondary contacts. It is this change from primary to secondary relationships which makes for the necessity of developing park and play spaces and social and recreational activities under the direction of competent and trained directors.

Evidence gathered from personal observation, reports of teachers, juvenile court judges and others, indicates that the power of the direction of its recreational life by itself is little appreciated by the community. The net result of neglecting this phase of life is to let youngsters roam as they please. Where they do not come in contact with a public playground, or other institutions where it is possible for them to play under direction, they naturally drift into unwholesome activities. Gangs of boys spring up—starting from a group that meet on a corner, or going to a corner lot to play; later on hanging around a store or a mill and often drifting into habits of committing minor crimes; and still later on to more serious offenses. Abstracts of juvenile court cases in our possession indicate the lack of directed activities as one of the major factors in delinquency.

Character-Building Agencies

In order to arrive at an approximation of the number of boys and girls being reached by character-building and recreational agencies information was secured from national, state, county and community organizations as to the number of youth provided with some sort of group activities. No account is taken of those served by church, fraternal, and school organizations.

The age group 7 to 17 years of age in the six counties embraces 50,599 children, and from 14 to 17 years of age 16,637. From these figures it is evident that there is a wide gap between the number enrolled in the groups listed and the actual number of boys and girls in these counties. On the basis of the age group 7 to 17 years of age only 6 per cent of the children receive group guidance. For the age group 14 to 17 years of age 19 per cent receive such an opportunity.

TABLE 56

NUMBER OF YOUTH IN ORGANIZED CHARACTER-BUILDING GROUPS

County	Y-boys	4-H clubs	Boy scouts	Girl reserves	Girl scouts	Camp fire girls	Roka	Salvation army sunbeams	Total
Albemarle	192	375	87	26	.....	35	....	....	715
Amherst	.....	295	.....	....	.....	....	....	....	295
Arlington	.....	.....	479	....	117	....	....	....	596
Augusta	499	250	220	45	14	....	....	14	1,042
Rockingham	.....	220	.....	....	.....	....	96	....	316
Wise	62	195	62	....	.....	....	....	....	319
Total	753	1,335	848	71	131	35	96	14	3,283

In this connection, observation on gangs is pertinent. Reports from local officials and other observers indicate that the gang is more closely tied up with delinquency in towns and villages than in the open country. Gangs for the most part do not exist in the open country. Juvenile court judges, superintendents of schools and probation officers point out that the gang enters very largely into the problem of delinquency in the towns and villages, but not in the country.

The character-building organizations came largely as the result of the permeation of the idea of work for boys and girls rather than of direct and deliberate promotion by national agencies. Organizations were started by private individuals, by formal action of local groups and organizations, such as "service" clubs or women's clubs. Later national and State agencies came in and consolidated and extended the work of particular agencies.

Outside of the 4-H Club, the boys and girls in these organizations live in towns or small centers. Even the 4-H Clubs find the school center, church, or small population group playing an important part in their organization. The fact that such a large part of their membership are from population centers is significant. It means that the boy and girl in the farm home lacks the opportunities of group experience and that it is difficult to effect an organization of boys and girls in the open county.

Without enumerating the membership of "service" clubs, women's organizations, and fraternal societies, there were 327 adult members of the Young Men's Christian Association in Albemarle, 499 in Augusta and 252 in Wise County. The Young Women's Christian Association was organized in Augusta County in the spring of 1927.

There are also Community Leagues and Home Demonstration Clubs in these counties which on occasion extend aid to needy families and provide some social activities for their members.

Recreational Facilities

Many studies have dwelt on the relation between ill-spent spare time and delinquency. Spot maps of the cases of delinquents and relief cases in Roanoke, Virginia,[2] indicate that they occur most frequently in the areas where the character-building and recreational agencies are deficient. The maps of Augusta and Albemarle counties in another portion of this study—one showing children placed and the other relief cases, point to the same conclusion. In the study of rural welfare it is necessary to weigh the place of such agencies in the recreational and social diversions among juveniles and adults. While it is true that county people have not reached the stage of being always the spectators at recreational exhibits, the sparse population prevents not only the development of certain types of commercial amusements but limits the character of group activities undertaken.

Observation and reports indicate that rural life, as measured by urban standards has few opportunities for amusement. The following summary concerning a town of 1,300 is typical of population centers in the counties studied.

> There is no community center in the town. Three pool rooms provide for a certain class of young men. Some go to the movies. A weekly dance is held, and well attended, because many come from a distance. There is no Young Men's Christian Association or Young Women's Christian Association. There is no city park, no band concert. All in all there are few places of amusement for those in the community.

Recreation offered on a commercial basis in which the charges for the service aim to cover not only the cost but also to make a profit for the producer, forms an important part of the recreational resources in all the larger centers in the six counties. Motion pictures, dance halls, pool-rooms, bowling alleys, amusement parks, commercial swimming pools and country clubs are found in towns and open country. From the standpoint of community welfare these activities are significant and interesting from the point of view of the selection of those attending. Charges for operation must be made and this makes the activities available only for those who can pay. Many who

2. Hoffer, Frank W., *Public and Private Welfare,* Roanoke, Virginia, 1928, p. 16.

need such activities most must do without them because of inability to raise the necessary entrance fees. Some places of recreation are so far removed from where people live that many can not get to them.

A brief sketch of the major commercial and non-commercial agencies in the counties follows. Movies are found only in the larger centers. They offer creditable programs and draw substantial crowds. To the movies come different elements in the population, selected on the basis of the charges made. There seems to be some evidence that farm people are not attending the movies in large numbers, that is, in proportion to total population. The country young people attend in far larger numbers and more frequently than their elders. Western cowboy "thrillers" draw large numbers of children. Whatever the movies possess for good or bad holds for the country as well as for the city.

Dance halls are to be found in towns, in small villages and in the open country; the country dances are occasions of special importance, because of their community nature. Superintendents of Public Welfare and Juvenile Court Judges report that many of the boys and girls who become problems frequent amusement and dance halls where there is little supervision and where attendance is confined largely to younger people.

Pool-rooms furnish a certain amount of recreation to young men. They offer a meeting place, a "hang out", and in many respects have taken the place of the saloon. Most of the pool-rooms are combined with other businesses, the most common being barber shops and cigar stores. Minors are admitted, and in all too many communities the pool-room is the only place to go to while away time. In one community three boys brought into juvenile court from relatively satisfactory homes had no recreational opportunity or meeting place except the pool-room.

The use of the automobile for recreation and social diversion is only one of the many ways in which it is altering rural recreational habits. There is ample evidence that the automobile has created an entirely new problem in the regulation of conduct. Recreation is often sought outside of the local community. Dancing, swimming, movies and other social diversions at a distance are made possible by the automobile.

Playgrounds are developed essentially in an effort to offset the extreme handicaps of children living in conjested urban centers where the streets provide their only play space. In only one center in one of the counties were playgrounds operated, and then for only six

weeks during the summer. In one county seat town playgrounds had been provided with equipment but no director. In a year's time the equipment was gone.

One county has a baseball league made up of teams from various centers in the county. This league creates considerable interest in baseball.

There are no municipal or county managed swimming pools. The old "swimmin' hole" is still a part of rural life. Commercial swimming pools are found in all but one county. Usually there are at least one or two near each large center where the patronage is good.

The radio is coming to occupy an important place in rural life. Gee and Corson[3] give the ratio of farms to one radio for the six counties as follows: Wise 263; Amherst 100; Augusta 32; Albemarle 31; Rockingham 22; and Arlington 2. Crop reports and special talks are usually listened to attentively and good programs are appreciated.

There is a general lack of adequate libraries. Three counties have no libraries, outside of small ones located in schools or churches. One county that is well organized for welfare purposes had no library until early in 1927. Many isolated communities receive no daily papers and few other publications.

There are no community centers as the term has come to be known in the literature on community life. The churches as yet have not come to accept recreational activities as a legitimate part of their program. Since the church plays a large part in the life of rural communities, if it does not provide for recreational needs, the people lack such opportunities. In some of the larger centers pastors are acting as Scout Masters.

The role of the rural school and the rural school teacher is much more important than that of the urban school and urban teacher in providing recreational and social opportunities. From the standpoint of welfare problems the city teacher can refer them to the appropriate agency. The rural teacher has to cope with such problems alone. Struggling with inadequate equipment the rural teacher fails to affect the community to any extent in extra-school affairs. The nature of the rural educational program in its relation to social deficiencies is largely one of inadequacy. Its usefulness is confined largely to the hours between 9 and 3, five days a week. No special provisions are made for the socially, physically, and mentally handicapped.

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3. Gee, Wilson and Corson, John J., 3rd, *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 1928, p. 187.

A review of the character-building and recreational facilities in the six counties impresses one with their inadequacy to meet the vital needs of present day life. For the most part the welfare workers have paid very little attention to these agencies. On the other hand the character-building and recreational agencies have failed to reach the socially inadequate. There is need of much more detailed knowledge of conditions before an intelligent program of integration between the character-building and recreational agencies and the relief and corrective agencies can be made, as well as an appreciation of the problem by all concerned.

CHAPTER XII

Religious, Civic and Fraternal Organizations

Extra Welfare Agencies

THE religious, civic, and fraternal organizations, while not organized primarily for welfare purposes, nevertheless perform services of considerable importance in the welfare field and through them ideas of welfare programs are spread and public opinion is formed. The social significance of the activities of these groups lies in the contributions each may make through different channels to community well being. The group contains a host of ordinary citizens who in one way or another are engaging in welfare activities; most of them not only are not welfare workers, but are not acquainted with modern welfare methods. What are they doing? In what direction are they moving in welfare work? The adequacy and efficiency of a welfare program depends upon the social intelligence with which these groups work with the organized welfare agencies.

While these agencies do not devote large sums to welfare activities, and are largely ignorant of welfare methods, yet the very fact that they contribute and participate in welfare endeavors makes for greater intelligence and purpose with reference to the problems of welfare. Welfare workers have as yet not learned how to use these groups in a comprehensive, constructive program. Their failure comes, perhaps, from the fact that no community wide program has been worked out so that the various agencies can see just where they fit into the scheme of affairs. They need to secure the largest measure of service from the religious, civic and fraternal agencies. The welfare leaders need to formulate a comprehensive, constructive community welfare program with definite objectives. The leaders of these agencies are reacting to organized welfare work as they understand it either by approval or disapproval. They have some conception of welfare problems, although the leaders may be comparatively ignorant of the fundamental principles underlying welfare work. The agencies represent the ordinary human nature in the community acting in certain established patterns as a part of the genuine consciousness of community welfare. These agencies and leaders can and do lend strength to welfare programs. As yet the programs are not in the hands of technically trained workers, but the present policies of some of the agencies are

likely to work toward professional personnel and greater intelligence as to welfare problems and remedies.

The Church

It has been one of the outstanding achievements of the church to have sponsored and engaged in welfare work. Even today with the existence of agencies devoted exclusively to the relief and rehabilitation of the needy and dependent, the church still feels some obligation to the poor on its own account. Thus a true picture of the welfare situation existing in these counties and the means at hand to cope with such, must consider the church.

An attempt was made to secure information as to the services and expenditures of churches for welfare activities. In gathering data from the welfare agencies it was found that the churches did family welfare work among their own members and other needy people in the community. Personal services and financial aid to the aged, sick and shut-in of their parishes constitute the most important part of the work of the churches. Contributions of clothing, bedding and food supplies are also made. In many cases the families aided have been members of the church for years. As a rule the work is done by groups within the church, such as classes and societies of men, women and young people. In some cases the church has a "poor" fund that is contributed for the aid of the needy. The welfare agencies often appeal to some church for funds for a particular family. In Arlington County eleven churches contributed $314.67 to cases handled by the Superintendent of Public Welfare. For one family $719.98 was spent, over a period of years, $574.98 of which came from the churches of the community. In Rockingham County the churches match the county funds in the support of aged people in their own homes. In Amherst County the amount of relief given through the overseers of the poor is very small, and the relief expenditures of its two leading churches is less than $50 per church.

While the amount of money expended directly by the church is not large, nevertheless it is a fundamental force in any community for welfare activities. Growing as it does out of the efforts of people to express and care for some of the fundamental experiences of life, the church is one of the most powerful agencies in the community. The rural church at times of death and illness often supplies the material needs of its indigent members as well as religious consolation. In the small community grief and distress are known by all. The intimacy of the neighborhood relationships eliminates the necessity for profes-

sional welfare services. The problems of the family receive the attention of relatives and intimate friends who know all the circumstances. In a more complex society, social relations have grown more intricate and complex. Needy people become less well known by the entire community and in many cases become isolated in inaccessible sections of the county. People are strangers to each other, the neighborliness of the community disappears. Those with the means to help and ability to guide become ignorant of the needs of their fellowmen and welfare agencies are created to render the required services. In the early days of Virginia the church was the official agency of the State to care for the dependent, but with the changes taking place as sketched above, it has gradually slipped out of the picture as a relief giving agency.

If the church of today is shifting from a giver of alms to a constructive program of educating people out of the idea that poverty and dependency are necessary, the change is due to the coming of specialized agencies to care for the dependent, to an "ever-expanding conception of the ministry" of the church, and to the discovery by the church of values in the social, physical and industrial life of the community. However, it should be clearly understood that, considered as a welfare agency, the church does influence the life of its members and of the community through its own program in matters affecting the general welfare. The public opinion formed, and the community coöperation generated through its program are real contributions which play an important part in the welfare situation in any community. It is certainly true that the church will remain an important factor in shaping the welfare activities and opinions of its members. To throw the strength of the church on the side of a constructive program involves careful thought and consideration both by the leaders of the church and the welfare agencies.

In the rapid development of welfare activities the religious agencies should be guided by certain principles which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Provide welfare facilities for a minimum number of their own members.
2. Insist on high standards in the welfare field through the creation and maintenance of an active, aggressive public opinion.
3. Provide a continuous and united support for the development of a community system of welfare through county government.
4. Establish and maintain demonstration welfare centers. Such

centers render not only extremely valuable personal service to the people living in their vicinity but in addition they are invaluable as laboratories in the technique of community welfare organization.

"Service Clubs"

"Service clubs" as a venture in altruism carry on welfare projects of a varied nature. Agencies here considered are Rotary, Kiwanis, Business and Professional Women's Club, Monarch, American Legion and its Auxiliary, King's Daughters, and Federation of Women's Clubs. For the most part they undertake welfare programs for the general public, that is, for some group in the community not connected with them by leadership. Service club members apparently associate together less for mutual benefit to themselves than for the promotion of aims that are expressed in a variety of slogans all more or less denoting a desire to promote civic, business, and welfare activities in their respective communities. Nationally the service clubs are known for their work with certain groups, for example, Rotary and boy's work, Kiwanis and the underprivileged child, Lions and the blind. Added to these formal and official projects are to be found a multitude of local projects of every sort with which these organizations concern themselves which may be free milk to children, support of a scouting program, circus treats to "orphans," or playgrounds.

The fifteen service clubs in the six counties were interested in giving the underprivileged child the advantages of certain recreational and group activities, usually in association with Boy Scouts or Young Men's Christian Association. The crippled and tubercular children come in for special attention. Medical and hospital care, special appliances, food, clothes and other necessities were supplied to families.

While welfare workers may become discouraged by the desultory and opportunistic attitude of these "service" agencies toward welfare undertakings worthy of most serious study and attack, the fact remains that these clubs are going to engage in some form of altruistic endeavor. The individual wants to have some personal connection with the assistance extended to the needy. This is one reason for the organization of welfare activities by these agencies. An encouraging fact is that there is a willingness on their part to follow good precedent if some one with tact and leadership will point the way. These clubs are becoming increasingly conscious of welfare needs. This implies a possible strengthening of all welfare work no matter by whom performed.

Fraternal Societies

Fraternal orders have long engaged in welfare work. Orphan asylums and old folks' homes have received most attention by them. No attempt was made to sum up the total activities of the fraternal orders and the service rendered by them, or the number of persons included in the support of such undertakings.

The fraternal orders undertake welfare projects for their own members or the families of their members. The fraternal orders have social and benefit organizations, offering, among other things, insurance, death benefits, aid to widows of members, old age care, care of children of deceased members. There is a tendency for the fraternal orders to adopt long time welfare programs. A statement of the growth of welfare work of fraternal societies, nationally, as given in the Survey says, "Beginning with the founding of a Masonic Orphanage in California in 1850, and an Orphan Asylum of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith in New Orleans in 1855, in general, the establishment of orphanages went on steadily in line with community approval of this form of child care. Up to 1900, 38 were founded by fraternal orders; in the next twenty years, 44 more; and in 1921-22 seven more were added. For the most part these belong to few of the strong orders; the Masons have 33, the Odd Fellows, 40; and the Knights of Pythias, 7." [1]

A service of far reaching importance is being developed by the Loyal Order of Moose. A significant trend in this Order is the development of a program which undertakes to maintain under certain conditions widowed mothers and their families in their own homes and communities. The Order provides institutional care for the widows and assists children of deceased members. A large institution houses children from all parts of the country and employs some mothers. Through local committees Moosehart aids families without bringing them to the institution.

The following is an illustration of the work with one family in Albemarle County. There is a local committee made up of the superintendent of the county board of public welfare, the juvenile court judge, and three other citizens. The committee worked out a plan for the family, which is now receiving $80.00 a month from the Order. Moosehart relies on this committee for investigation to determine the kind and amount of aid to be given the family. The local committee plans a reasonable budget for the family, and mar-

1. Areson, C. W., *Survey* 57: 95-8, Oct. 15, 1926.

shals all possible local resources for the family. If the resources fall short of a decent standard of support, and the plan is sound, Moosehart undertakes to supply the local committee with a monthly sum sufficient to make up a reasonable household budget.

The American Legion early in its history felt the necessity of assisting veterans and their children in cases of need. After careful consideration the National Convention of the Legion in 1923 embodied four cardinal policies in a proposed program:

1. Coöperation with all responsible public and private welfare agencies.
2. Preservation of children's own homes wherever possible.
3. When this proved impossible, placement in carefully chosen foster homes with which Local Legion posts could maintain contact.
4. Or temporary care in a billet (small institution) until return to the child's own family or placement could be affected; billets to be used as "clearing houses" and be established in various parts of the country, but only in response to demonstrated need.

Service is not limited to its own members. Its program is conceived in terms of coöperation with local welfare agencies. Nationally its program is in the hands of a staff of trained welfare workers. Its most important service is in educating a great body of young men to think and act in welfare matters with open minds and modern methods. Families are aided so as to keep them in their own homes, some are placed in boarding homes, some in foster homes. There is real significance in this work for community welfare work. As yet the Legion in these counties has not worked out a program such as advocated by the national agency.

The material presented in the foregoing pages, while meager as to concrete data, does give an estimate of the part played by the service clubs in a county welfare program. While the financial relief given is small in comparison with other agencies the services rendered are of the first importance. It is the intimate personal work that constitutes the chief social value of these agencies.

CHAPTER XIII

Welfare Income and Expenditures

Wealth and Human Welfare

IN THIS phase of the study of welfare agencies, two questions in reference to the wealth of a county and its welfare income and expenditures, press for consideration: First, finding some measure or measures of the economic well-being of a county; second, discovering the source and amount of funds and expenditures for the various welfare agencies.

Social advance and community prosperity have their material basis in natural resources. While man's dependence upon nature is fundamental, it is constantly changing, depending upon the state of technology achieved. The position of a county in reference to other counties on the basis of natural resources and technological achievement, is influenced by the composition of its population, its position in respect to transportation, shipping and marketing, and the accumulation of capital. These conditions give some conception of the ability of a county to carry on its necessary activities. But it is apparent that some counties are rich and others are poor because of economic conditions inherent in their location, topography, and natural resources.

The significance of these factors in the well-being of a county in relation to welfare administration is a matter which has received all too little attention; yet, among county interests, none are more important than that of the welfare of its citizens, and, among county liabilities, none more serious than a lack of adequate facilities for their care. If the county is to prosper, maintain high social, economic, and intellectual standards, and otherwise meet its opportunities and responsibilities, it must provide for its welfare activities. There is a widespread belief that superior natural resources make it possible for a people to provide superior institutions and superior facilities for the care of the dependent, defective, and delinquent, and at the same time provide adequately for the religious, civic, character-building and recreational agencies and for health and hospital services and other preventive and constructive social agencies. Studies of Huntington[1] seem to indicate that there is some relationship between

1. Huntington, Ellsworth, *The Pulse of Progress,* 1926, ch. 2.

poor land and the character of the institutions that people are able to maintain. A check of the areas in which retardation in school occurs with the areas of low land values, indicates that they coincide. Spot maps of dependency and relief show that such areas contribute a larger proportion of cases than the areas of higher land values.

In its studies of infant mortality in seven widely differing cities, carefully gathered data on 21,536 live-born infants, the Federal Children's Bureau has established definitely the relationship between earnings of fathers and the infant mortality rate. The following summary, showing the variation on the basis of earnings of fathers, is taken from a table by Woodbury.[2]

Earnings of father	Infant mortality rate
Under $450	166.9
$450- $549	125.6
550- 649	116.6
650- 849	107.5
850- 1,049	82.8
1,050- 1,249	64.0
1,250 and over	59.1

"To summarize, in this group of legitimate city births a marked correlation was found between low earnings of father and high infant mortality. Low earnings of the father were found to correspond to high economic pressure as measured by the per capita amount of earnings available for each member of the family. This relationship between earnings and mortality was found to be independent of type of feeding, of race and nationality, and of the factors involved in frequency of births. The conclusion may be drawn, therefore, that economic pressure due to low father's earnings is a causal factor in the infant death rate." [3]

There has been discussed in another connection the relation of sickness, poverty and income. It has been pointed out that a higher sickness rate and a greater amount of working time lost on account of such sickness are found among families whose incomes are lower than among members of families with a more favorable economic status. Disabling sickness of longer duration is more prevalent among families whose income is below the average than among families with a more favorable economic status. Tuberculosis is decidedly more frequent among the poor than the rich. Pellagra exists primarily among the poor. Income affects health—physical and mental

2. Woodbury, R. M., *Infant Mortality and Its Causes*, 1926, p. 131.
3. Woodbury, R. M., *Infant Mortality and Its Causes*, 1926, p. 151.

—in many ways. It conditions nutrition, influences housing, affects the amount, promptness and quality of medical service needed.

The relationship between income and mental life is for the most part an unexplored field. While mental capacity is usually thought of as an hereditary endowment, the impression is gaining currency that what affects the general development of the human organism affects of necessity its mental development. Tredgold says, "However good the inherent potentiality, it is clear that development cannot take place to the full in the absence of a food supply which is adequate in quantity and quality; and consequently under such adverse conditions it is by no means uncommon to find considerable mental retardation. Such cases may simulate amentia so closely as to make a diagnosis impossible at the time." [4] Healy, in his work with juvenile delinquents, emphasizes the mental dullness which results from physical conditions.[5] Cyril Burt has made the same point.[6] The psychology of low income offers a field of study which hangs large with meaning for welfare activities. Many careful researches need to be made in this direction in the future. Who knows the feeling of inferiority, the sense of impotence and futility, the lowering of self-respect, and the fear of the future which flows out of low economic income?

Another important question is the relation of income to crime and delinquency. Burt holds "The majority of delinquents are needy," but "the majority of the needy do not become delinquents." [7] Sutherland says: "Poverty in the modern city generally means segregation in low-rent sections, where people are isolated from many of the cultural influences and forced into contact with many of the degrading influences. Poverty generally means a low status, with little to lose, little to respect, little to be proud of, little to sustain efforts to improve. It generally means bad housing conditions, lack of sanitation in the vicinity, and lack of attractive community institutions. It generally means both parents away from home for long hours, with the fatigue, lack of control of children, and irritation that go with these. It generally means withdrawal of the child from school at an early age and the beginning of mechanical labor, with weakening of the home control, the development of anti-social grudges, and lack of cultural contacts." [8] Thomas has pointed out that behavior is the result of the interplay of

4. Tredgold, A. F., *Mental Deficiency,* 1922, p. 25.
5. Healy, William, *The Young Delinquent,* 1915, Chapter XVIII.
6. Burt, Cyril, *The Young Delinquent,* 1925.
7. Ibid., p. 89.
8. Sutherland, E. H., *Criminology,* 1924, p. 169.

an attitude and a situation. From this point of view the relation of inadequate income to crime and delinquency takes on added significance. The effect of inadequate income upon attitudes is coming to light through the data furnished by the child guidance clinics; children denied opportunities accorded to the youth of more fortunate families, may compensate through behavior which the community calls delinquent.

The Economic Measure of Well-Being

A question of importance in considering the well-being of a county is: do varying economic and industrial conditions have measurable effect upon the welfare expenditures and the number needing assistance? The hypothesis on which the data are presented is that county prosperity is in proportion to the total population. The most outstanding reason for the greater relative household or per capita wealth of one county over another appears to be found in its density. A large population offers a greater number and variety of services to the inhabitants and thus a greater flow of capital.

The wealth of a county reacts on its social and economic life in ways too numerous and too subtle to be catalogued and measured by any kind of mathematical reckoning. It is possible to isolate and study a few outstanding features which vary in reference to group prosperity. First, do welfare expenditures increase with wealth measured by property values, bank resources and deposits, income paid, and value of manufactured products? To what extent are social and welfare institutions influenced by wealth?

Two indexes of wealth were established to measure the ability of a county to support the agencies discussed in this study—a household wealth index and a per capita wealth index. They are obtained by dividing the various items considered in one case by the estimated number of families and in the other by the estimated population in the county as of July 1, 1927. The wealth index, either household or per capita, is affected by the total valuation of county property, as well as the number of households or number of individuals, as the case may be. It expresses not wealth alone, but wealth in relation to population.

The data used for the establishment of a measure of county wealth are:

1. Personal and real property
2. Public service corporations
3. Bank resources and deposits
4. Income tax

Personal and real property, public service corporations, bank re-

sources and deposits, and income tax paid within the county serve as the basis for deriving indexes of county wealth. While no account is taken of property lying outside of the county owned by county residents, on the other hand, all property is credited to the county regardless of the residence of the title holder. The values of personal, real and corporation property were obtained from the Annual Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts of Virginia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927. Bank resources and deposits were secured from the Annual Report of the Banking Division of the State Corporation Commission for the year 1926, and from Table No. 98, Resources and Liabilities of National Banks for 1926. The statement of income tax paid was obtained direct from the Commissioners of Revenue of the counties and is for the year 1927.

Assessed values are however lower than the actual sales value. The ratio of assessed to actual sales value as given in the Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government to the General Assembly of Virginia, January 1924, was used to raise assessed values to actual sales value. This was only done for real estate and public service corporations. The ratio of assessed values to actual sales value for public service corporations is 41.1. For real estate the ratio varies for the different counties, being 31.7 for Albemarle, 29.4 for Amherst, 25.1 for Arlington, 27.2 for Augusta, 32.9 for Rockingham, and 32.7 for Wise. The ratio is 39.8 for Charlottesville, and 43.4 for Staunton.

TABLE 57

HOUSEHOLD INDEX OF WEALTH

Property value	Albemarle	Amherst	Arlington	Augusta	Rockingham	Wise
Real property	$2,193.20	$ 733.73	$ 3,318.06	$2,163.51	$1,903.33	$ 988.68
Actual sales value of real property	6,918.63	2,495.67	13,219.35	7,040.00	5,785.11	3,032.69
Tangible personal property	393.24	166.77	366.33	464.02	437.51	126.05
Intangible personal property	1,686.01	263.00	1,127.44	1,280.78	868.98	405.33
Public service corporations	468.94	484.16	539.45	317.15	134.17	303.17
Actual sales value of public service corporations	1,139.67	1,178.01	1,312.53	771.66	326.45	737.65
Bank deposits	1,140.47	240.53	227.13	1,009.78	611.09	495.58
Bank resources	1,525.60	277.32	341.16	822.55	922.92	716.70
State income tax	5.12	.60	286.12	3.09	.28	.74

Table 57 shows that there are marked variations county for county on the items selected to establish a household index of wealth. We can do no more than point out some of the high spots which the table suggests. Ranking the counties from one to six on the nine items making up the table gives the following results:

County	Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6
Albemarle		3	2	4	..	..	..
Amherst		..	2	..	..	3	4
Arlington		5	..	1	1	1	1
Augusta		1	3	3	2	..	..
Rockingham		..	2	1	3	..	3
Wise		..	..	..	3	5	1

This ranking gives Arlington five firsts, Albemarle, three and Augusta, one. Amherst County ranks the lowest having four sixths and three fifths.

TABLE 58

PER CAPITA INDEX OF WEALTH

Property value	Albemarle	Amherst	Arlington	Augusta	Rockingham	Wise
Real property	$ 493.49	$134.70	$ 663.61	$ 451.76	$ 481.65	$197.24
Actual sales value of real property	1,558.11	458.15	2,643.87	1,470.01	1,463.99	603.19
Tangible personal property	84.48	30.62	73.27	96.89	110.72	25.07
Intangible personal property	379.37	48.28	225.49	267.43	219.91	80.62
Public service corporations	105.52	88.88	107.89	66.22	33.95	60.30
Actual sales value of public service corporations	256.73	216.26	262.51	161.13	82.61	146.72
Bank deposits	256.83	44.16	45.43	210.85	154.64	98.57
Bank resources	343.56	50.91	68.23	226.84	233.56	142.55
State income tax	1.15	.11	57.22	9.43	.65	14.79

Table 58 tells much the same story as the preceding one. By ranking the counties from one to six on the nine items making up the table the following results are obtained:

County	Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6
Albemarle		3	4	1	1	..	..
Amherst		..	..	2	..	1	6
Arlington		5	..	1	1	2	..
Augusta		..	3	3	3	..	..
Rockingham		1	1	2	2	1	2
Wise		..	1	..	2	5	1

This ranking gives Arlington five firsts, one third, one fourth and two fifths and Albemarle, three firsts, four seconds, one third and one fourth. Amherst ranks lowest, having six sixths, one fifth and two thirds.

Table 59 shows a further analysis of the economic status of the six counties in which welfare studies were made. A study of this table is extremely illuminating. While the influence of the agricultural and industrial life of the county upon the assessable values may be assayed, their influence upon its welfare development and expenditures is difficult of analysis. Albemarle County spends $4.30 per capita per annum for welfare purposes. The expenditures for the other counties are: Augusta, $1.42; Rockingham, $1.24; Wise, $1.05; Arlington, $1.03; and Amherst, $0.45. If the large endowment and earnings of one institution are excluded in Albemarle County, it would have a per capita welfare expenditure of $1.12.

Ranking the various items from one to six for the different counties indicates that Albemarle has eight firsts and one second and Augusta has three firsts and nine seconds. At the other end of the scale Amherst has twelve sixths and four fifths and Wise County has five fifths and five fourths.

The number of counties are too few for adequate comparison, but the data from the three tables seems to indicate that where there is a good balance between industry and agriculture, there are found more public revenues available, increased value of agricultural products and property and greater expenditures for welfare service. It might well be pointed out that one way of helping a county to improve its agriculture is to put industry into the county. In this way the value of agricultural products will be advanced. The adequacy and progress of welfare agencies will be determined by the amount of public revenue that the counties will be able to muster.

In the counties studied welfare expenditures do not depend upon differences in rural wealth judged by available criteria. Where agencies have been organized their finances do not vary directly with wealth. The average value of all farm property in the counties studied rank on the basis of 100, 1, 2, 3, 44, 60, and 100 respectively. On the basis of the value of manufactured products the rank is 7, 11, 12, 13, 21, and 45 respectively.[14] It should be said that Wise County is concerned largely with mining. Arlington County is a county in name, but a city in most other respects. Of the fifteen counties with welfare units, superindendents of public welfare, juvenile and domestic relations

14. Gee, Wilson and Corson, John J., *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 1928, pp. 161, 190.

TABLE 59

ECONOMIC STATUS OF SIX VIRGINIA COUNTIES

	Albemarle	Amherst	Arlington	Augusta	Rockingham	Wise
Land area [9] (Square miles)	751	470	31	1,006	876	420
Population (Estimated July 1, 1927)	36,700	20,400	30,000	47,000	35,600	55,400
Per cent urban, 1929 [9]	29.1	.....	.....	23.5	16.4	13.1
Persons per square mile [9]	48.9	42.0	1,100.0	45.0	41.0	110.7
Property—Real estate [10]	$18,126,840	$2,747,810	$19,908,340	$21,232,626	$17,146,850	$10,927,437
Property—Actual sales of real estate	57,182,466	9,346,292	79,316,095	69,090,601	52,118,085	33,417,238
Property—Personal—Tangible [10]	3,250,157	624,565	2,197,970	4,553,894	3,941,492	1,388,952
Property—Intangible [10]	13,934,877	984,920	6,764,660	12,569,569	7,828,671	4,466,303
Public service corporation [10]	3,875,784	1,813,193	3,236,703	3,112,498	1,208,752	3,340,667
Actual sales value, public service corporation	9,421,812	4,411,661	7,875,189	7,572,987	2,941,002	8,128,143
Bank deposits [11]	9,425,944	900,801	1,362,804	7,537,391	5,505,274	5,460,816
Bank resources [11]	12,609,049	1,038,575	2,046,943	10,682,830	8,314,562	7,897,282
Per capita income [12]	404	208	994	374	332	501
State income tax	42,305	2,262	1,716,719	30,344	2,483	8,196
Manufacturing—Value of finished product [9]	3,825,918	1,387,869	27,638,693	11,920,103	8,871,304	9,632,164
Taxation—Tax rate per $100 [13]	3.55	2.52	2.09	4.76	5.80	4.29
Taxation—Revenues produced [13]	727,366	130,519	528,870	607,146	383,968	672,299
Per capita welfare expenditure	4.30	.45	1.03	1.42	1.24	1.05

9. U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1920.

10. Annual Report Auditor of Public Accounts, 1926.

11. Annual Report Banking Division, State Corporation Commission, 1926 and Resources and Liabilities of National Banks, 1926, Table No. 98.

12. The National Market, The Crowell Publishing Company, 1926.

13. Stauffer, W. H., *Tax Studies of Virginia* (to be published, 1929).

court, all but two—Wise and Arlington—fall within the rank of the first 44 counties out of the 100 in value of all farm property, all come within the rank of the first 45 in reference to the value of manufactured products.

The distribution of home ownership is generally regarded as important evidence of the economic status of population. The nearest approach to an index of ownership is farms operated by owners. The figures for the counties for 1925 are: Albemarle, 84.9 per cent, Amherst 69.0 per cent, Arlington 77.6 per cent, Augusta 86.0 per cent, Rockingham 88.0 per cent, and Wise 74.8 per cent. These figures are fairly indicative of conditions of home ownership in these counties.

Source and Amount of Funds for Public and Private Welfare

To obtain an idea of the comparative contribution and cost of the services of the public and private welfare agencies in each of the six counties, they have been divided into five major divisions: Dependency, Delinquency, Character-Building and Recreational, Civic, and Health. Each one of these major divisions is made up of a number of agencies. It was thought best not to show the individual agency in this study. The individual county study which forms the basis of this report does show the amount of funds expended by agency. The agencies considered are listed under each major division.

Dependency

In this group are included Boards of Public Welfare, Associated Charities, the Red Cross, Salvation Army, Overseers of the Poor, Almshouses, Old Folks Homes, Community Welfare Associations, Workshops for the Blind.

Delinquency

This group includes the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts, the Probation Service and the Jails.

Character-Building and Recreational

In this group are included the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Boy Scouts, Playgrounds.

Civic Agencies

No attempt was made to secure complete information from religious and fraternal organizations. For the civic groups the data is complete.

Health Service

The field of health service is confined to the County Health Departments and Nursing Service. Hospitals are not included.

TABLE 60

SOURCE AND AMOUNT OF FUNDS FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WELFARE

JULY 1, 1926-JUNE 30, 1927

I. DEPENDENCY	Tax revenue	Contribution	Earnings	Endowment	Total
Albemarle	$12,381.24	$9,997.66	$26,929.20	$80,124.11	$129,432.21
					3.53*
Amherst	2,757.35	1,500.00	503.00	.....	4,760.35
					.23*
Arlington	7,245.39	1,477.77	572.74	.....	9,295.90
					.31*
Augusta	7,407.23	7,430.09	6,144.83	.....	20,982.15
					.45*
Rockingham	13,706.95	7,822.46	4,219.06	.....	25,748.47
					.73*
Wise	21,178.13	4,012.05	632.52	.....	25,822.70
					.47*
Total	64,676.29	32,240.03	39,001.35	80,124.11	216,041.78
Per cent	29.94	14.92	18.05	37.09	100.00
Per capita	.29	.14	.17	.36	.96
II. DELINQUENCY					
Albemarle	8,007.91	.....	.....	.....	8,007.91
					.22*
Amherst	2,201.01	.....	.....	.....	2,201.01
					.11*
Arlington	5,215.82	.....	.....	.....	5,215.82
					.17*
Augusta	10,250.38	.....	.....	.....	10,350.38
					.22*
Rockingham	9,487.12	.....	.....	.....	9,487.12
					.27*
Wise	14,665.21	.....	.....	.....	14,665.21
					.26*
Total	49,927.45	.....	.....	.....	49,927.45
Per cent	100.00	.....	.....	.....	100.00
Per capita	.22	.....	.....	.....	.22
III. CHARACTER BUILDING—RECREATIONAL					
Albemarle	.....	6,570.76	436.84	.....	7,007.60
					.19*
Amherst	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arlington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Augusta	524.78	15,098.50	13,919.29	.....	29,542.57
					.63*
Rockingham	.....	1,019.27	450.25	.....	1,469.46
					.04*
Wise	.....	3,500.00	1,500.00	.....	5,000.00
					.09*
Total	524.78	26,188.53	16,306.38	.....	43,019.63
Per cent	1.22	60.88	37.90	.....	100.00
Per capita	.002	.17	.07	.....	.19

*Amount per capita of the population.

IV. Civic Groups	Tax revenue	Construction	Earnings	Endowment	Total
Albemarle	$.....	$2,832.27	$.....	$.....	$2,832.27
					.08*
Amherst	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arlington	.....	831.31	.....	.....	831.31
					.03*
Augusta	.....	2,153.96	.....	.....	2,153.96
					.05*
Rockingham	.....	4,600.00	.....	.....	4,600.00
					.13*
Wise	.....	1,085.85	.....	.....	1,085.85
					.02*
Total	.....	11,503.39	.....	.....	11,503.39
Per cent	.....	100.00	.....	.....	100.00
Per capita	.....	.05	.....	.....	.05
V. Health					
Albemarle	7,500.00	856.04	2,003.94	.....	10,359.98
					.28*
Amherst	1,850.00	250.00	165.43	.....	2,265.43
					.11*
Arlington	13,144.79	2,051.10	450.00	.....	15,645.89
					.52*
Augusta	6,168.00	1,624.50	413.50	.....	8,206.00
					.18*
Rockingham	2,419.22	.....	.....	.....	2,419.22
					.07*
Wise	10,641.48	3,741.48	371.50	.....	14,754.46
					.26*
Total	41,723.49	8,523.12	3,404.37	.....	53,650.98
Per cent	77.77	15.89	6.34	.....	100.00
Per capita	.19	.04	.01	.....	.24
Grand total	156,852.01	78,455.07	58,712.10	80,124.11	374,143.23
Per cent	41.92	20.97	15.69	21.42	100.00
Per capita	.69	.35	.26	.36	1.66

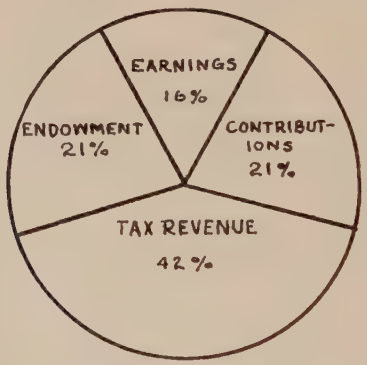
*Amount per capita of the population.

In analyzing the source and amount of funds of the welfare agencies in the six counties an interesting question arises. How much welfare work can a county afford? The question cannot be answered by a statement of how much per capita a community can give if it is minded to give. From data presented in another section it is evident that communities vary as to the capacity to pay; then again some communities feel the urge to give more than others; some communities have established traditions for giving and supporting the needy. Leadership in welfare activities may be lacking in some communities. On the basis of present information no very accurate answer can be given to the question of how much welfare service a county can afford or should

support. No one knows the number needing the service of the various agencies nor what it would cost to finance such agencies if they were to launch an adequate program.

To analyze the income of the welfare agencies in the six counties, the sources of funds were divided into four classes[15]—tax revenue, contributions, earnings, and endowment. Contributions for buildings, endowments or other capital accounts are excluded. Under the heading of tax revenue are included all payments from governmental agencies, whether as direct governmental expenditures, or tax funds disbursed by private agencies. Contributions embrace all monies given by individuals for current expenses of the agencies. In none of the counties was there a Community Fund. Earnings represent payments by or on account of beneficiaries for services rendered, not including payments coming from public revenue or tax funds for individual services. The only endowment receipts were those from the Miller Manual Labor School.

Table 60 shows, besides the expense for each major welfare division by county, the cost reduced to dollars per capita of the population. The per capita amounts were obtained by dividing the number of dollars in each case by the estimated population of the county as of July 1, 1927.



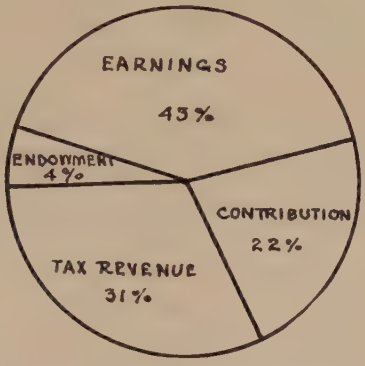
Grand Total: $374,143.23.

Fig. 6.—Grand Total Income Distributed by Sources for Six Counties.

The grand totals in table 60 were used in making Figure 6 which

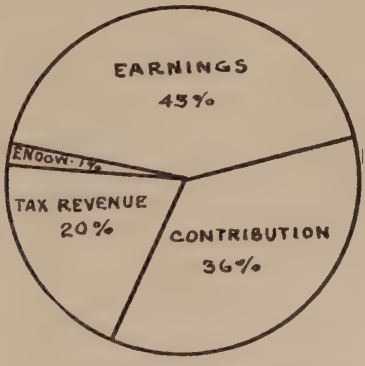
15. The classification of income used by the American Association for Community Organization in a study of nineteen cities in 1924 has been followed. No Community Fund organization exists in any of the six counties.

shows graphically the percentage of income from various sources. It shows a grand total of $374,143.23, a per capita of $1.66. The per capita for two cities in Virginia, Roanoke[16] and Danville[17] for which information is available, gives a per capita of $6.56 and $6.41 respectively. Figure 7 gives the grand total income distributed by sources for nineteen cities, information for which was gathered by the American Association for Community Organization for the year 1924. Figure 8 gives the same information for Roanoke, Virginia. Tax revenue as a



Grand Total: $112,780,524.00.

Fig. 7.—Grand Total Income Distributed by Sources for Nineteen Cities.



Grand Total: $414,374.63.

Fig. 8.—Grand Total Income Distributed by Sources for Roanoke, Virginia.

16. Hoffer, Frank W., *Public and Private Welfare,* Roanoke, Virginia, 1928, p. 105.
17. Hoffer, Frank W., *Unpublished Manuscript,* Danville, Virginia, 1928, p. 199.

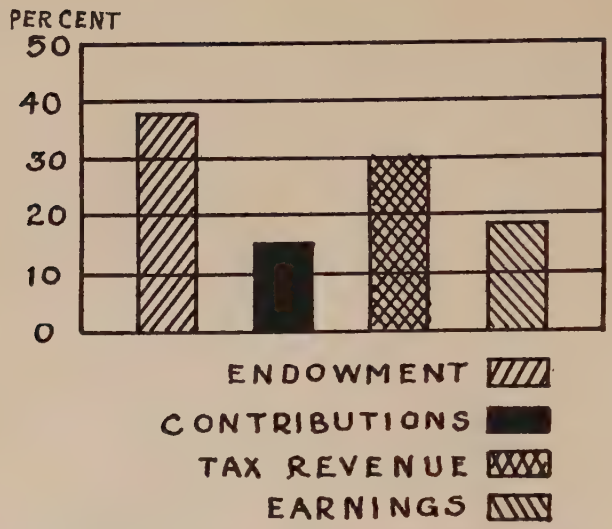


Fig. 9.—Dependency: Percentage of Income Received from Tax Revenue, Contributions, Earnings, and Endowment.

source of funds is greater in the counties than in either the nineteen cities, Roanoke, or Danville, being 42, 31, 20 and 37 per cent respectively. The reverse position is assumed on contributions with the exception of Danville which has 49 per cent, where Roanoke leads with 36 per cent, followed by the nineteen cities with 22 per cent and the six counties with 21 per cent. On earnings Roanoke and the nineteen cities have the same per cent, namely 43, while the six counties have 16 per cent and Danville 13 per cent. If the endowment funds of one institution were not listed the counties would not be credited with this source of income at all. The nineteen cities are credited with 4 per cent for endowment and Roanoke and Danville with 1 per cent each. As a matter of fact the amount is less than 1 per cent for these two cities.

A detailed analysis of the sources of support—tax revenue, contributions, earnings, and endowment—for each of the major fields of welfare is presented in the following figures. Endowment is shown only in connection with dependency.

In Figure 9 is shown the per cent in each of the four sources of support going to the agencies in the field of dependency. Tax revenues account for 30 per cent, and endowment 37 per cent of the total expenditures for dependency. In the amount of revenues received from

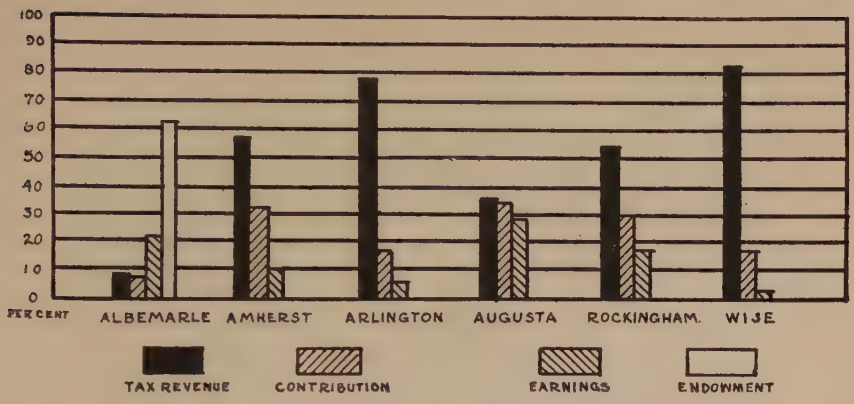


Fig. 10.—Dependency: Percentage Distribution of Income by Source by Counties.

tax funds, Danville with 31 per cent, exceeds the 30 per cent of the counties, while Roanoke falls below with 13 per cent. In Figure 10 the distribution of income by source for the six counties for the care of dependents is shown. The endowment in Albemarle County throws out of proportion the real situation as to the source of funds. By eliminating the endowment it is evident that tax revenue furnishes by far the largest amount of the money for carrying on the work with dependents. Earnings are exceedingly low in proportion to contributions and tax revenue. Albemarle and Augusta counties in which the character-building and recreational agencies have had the greatest development show the largest earnings.

In the field of delinquency the entire support is derived from tax revenue. The income of the civic group comes wholly from contributions. While some of the money collected by these groups is contributed to some of the agencies listed under the other major divisions, it was thought best to show this income separately.

In Figure 11 is shown the distribution of the income for the character-building and recreational agencies. In the efforts of the counties to provide for the leisure time activities little help is secured from tax funds. This preventive work in public welfare is dependent upon the voluntary contributions of individuals and the earnings of the agencies. The earnings come primarily from memberships and fees collected by Y. M. C. and Y. W. C. Associations.

The income for health purposes is shown in Figure 12. Tax revenue furnishes more than three-fourths of all the money spent for

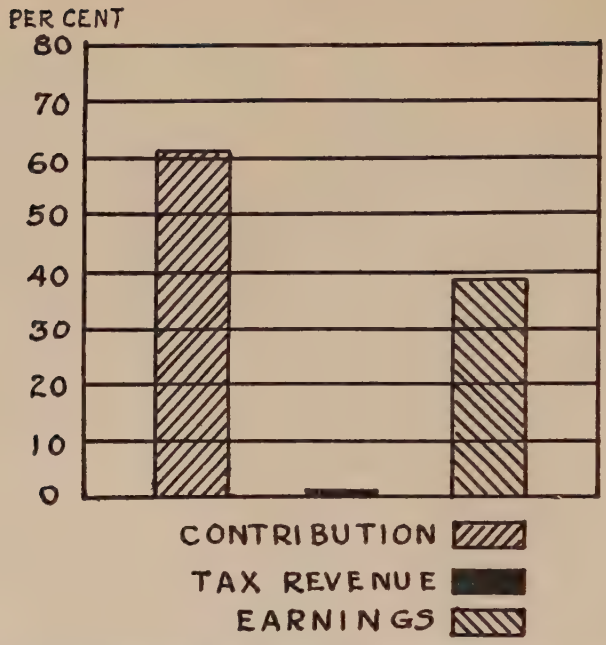


Fig. 11.—Character-Building—Recreation: Percentage of Income Received From Tax Revenue, Contribution, and Earnings.

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health activities. This would indicate that government feel a major responsibility for this phase of welfare activity. Earnings of the health agencies are low. Figure 13 shows that the distribution of the source of funds county by county, when all factors are considered, do not vary to any large extent. Rockingham County does not have any earnings or contributions. Albemarle County has the highest percentage of earnings and Augusta and Wise counties the lowest. Augusta and Wise counties rank the highest in regard to contributions and Albemarle and Amherst the lowest.

The most frequent method of raising money for the work of agencies not supported by tax funds was through an annual canvass for subscriptions. Since certain agencies are better organized in population centers, the largest amount of money was raised in these centers and among a few scattered individuals in other sections of the county. It is apparently city support which turns the scales toward financial support of welfare work. Beyond this the success of welfare organizations depends less upon the distribution of wealth of the community

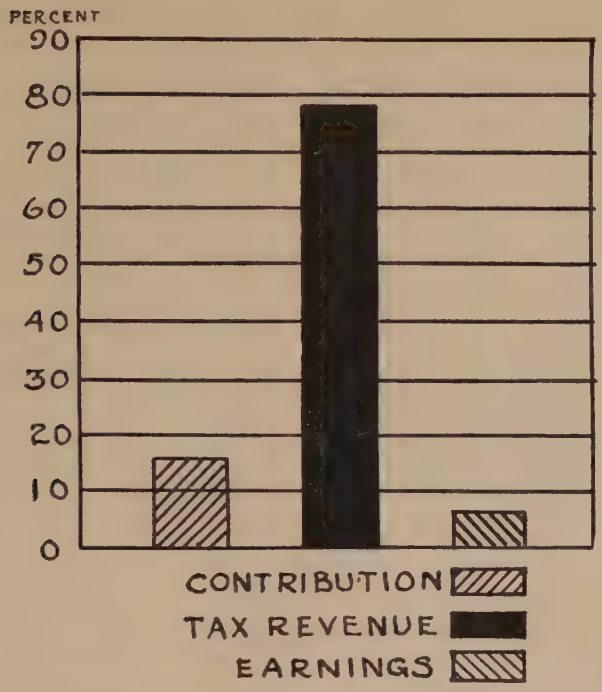

Fig. 12.—Health: Percentage of Income Received From Tax Revenue, Contribution, and Earnings.

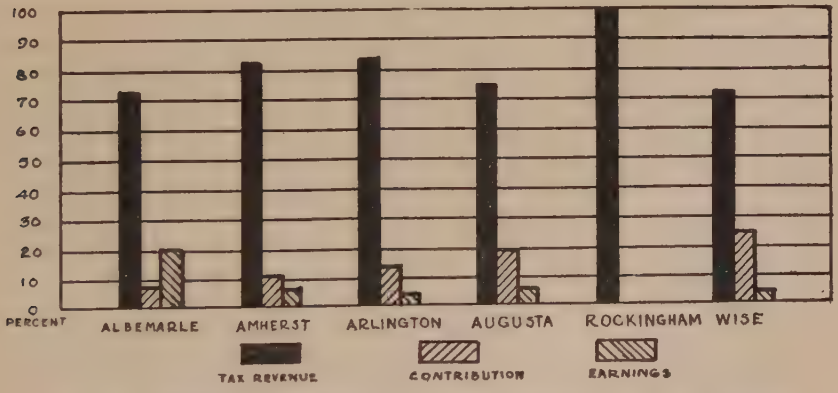

Fig. 13.—Health: Percentage of Income Received from Tax Revenue, Contributions, and Earnings by Counties.

than upon the generosity of a limited number of interested individuals.

Enough has been revealed in the source and amount of funds for welfare agencies in the six counties to get some idea of the character of the expenditures for the major welfare fields. While it is evident that there are discrepancies and neglect in the amount of income from certain sources it may well be indicative of the lack of inclusive program making for the individual county. The material presented can be useful in planning for future growth in the different fields of welfare activity. The neglected fields can be given larger support. Sources of support doing less than their share in total contributions can be stimulated to increase their giving. This study of source and amount of income of welfare agencies should contribute something to seeing the welfare problems of the county not in separate and unrelated facts but as a whole and interrelated.

CHAPTER XIV

Welfare Problems and Developments

IN THE light of the data presented in the preceding pages this chapter seeks to set forth (1) a summary of the existing welfare situation, (2) some of the data needed upon which to plan a longtime, constructive welfare program, and (3) the general principles upon which welfare activities may be evaluated and developed.

The County Welfare Situation

Problem of Resources and Accessibility.

The welfare of a county is to be explained in part, and its future may be predicted in large part in terms of (1) resources—the opportunity for the production of food, clothing, shelter, fuel, and luxuries, and (2) location and accessibility—the opportunity for transportation and commerce with the resulting influence upon relation with other people. These two great fundamentals—resources and accessibility—form the background of the county and help to interpret it.

In seeking to explain certain difficulties — physical, social and economic—connected with the administration of public welfare in Virginia, attention is directed to the nature of the resources and accessibility of the county. The lack of resources in certain counties prevents them from securing sufficient revenues—public or private—to maintain needed agencies. From the standpoint of economic ability to meet the expenses of welfare services the counties are by no means on an equal footing. There is wide variation in the per capita wealth. This difference results in extreme inequalities as to tax burdens and standards of service rendered. Counties lacking industrial life have pitifully small buying power as evidenced by the chapter on Wealth and Welfare Income and Expenditures. So far no county has developed a public welfare unit, unless it possessed a rather large population center or centers and industrial activities.

The counties of the State are not on an equal basis as to the economic ability to provide for welfare services and as to the inherent difficulties of the welfare problems. The counties vary as to area, population density, age distribution and racial make up. Small area and sparce population combined with unproductive lands handicap a county in its efforts to provide the needed welfare service. Many families, for one cause or another, are unable to secure sufficient income to maintain a

standard of living that supplies the bare necessities of life. School facilities are lacking; children grow up without educational advantages and from the illiterate are recruited the dependent and delinquent. The county may be so located as not to be accessible to transportation facilities and centers of commerce.

Character of Welfare Services

Are differences in per capita expenditures for welfare services accompanied by corresponding differences in the value of the welfare work performed? In other words, do counties which spend more for welfare services than others receive a correspondingly greater return? On the basis of data available no adequate answer can be given to the question, but for the present purpose the pay of welfare workers may be taken as a criteria of the character of the welfare service performed.

An examination of Chapter II and XIII points to the conclusion that the maintenance of a given standard of welfare service involves very unequal costs as between the various counties. What are the reasons for these differences in costs? They are the result of a complex of varying circumstances and conditions, some of which are subject to a certain degree of control, and some of which more than likely must be accepted as unavoidable. Differences in geographical and topographical conditions, in density and distribution of population will probably always make it more difficult to carry on welfare work in some counties than in others. Where the population of a county is thinly scattered or distributed in small communities, cut off by mountains, rivers, or swamps, it is difficult to utilize the services of welfare workers at maximum efficiency. Transportation and communication facilities are not easily available. While differences in the way in which population is distributed are, of course, not capable of quantitative measurement, counties with a high population density are likely to get more service for a given amount of money.

Another aspect of the whole matter is that comparatively few persons of wealth (so welfare workers report) are giving in proportion to their means to the private agencies. The welfare of the county is not properly the responsibility of the few but of the many. While the generosity of those who already realize their civic responsibility is recognized, many of the existing agencies both public and private are sorely handicapped for lack of funds. There are neighborhoods in some counties where no welfare work is carried on at all.

The Almshouse

The problem of the almshouse lies not only in the personality of the

superintendent, but in the nature of the institution itself. Physically the county almshouse represents a very poor type of institution for the indigent; from the standpoint of modern standards of welfare, it represents the lowest type of possible institutional care. It is an example of the treatment of the poor a century ago rather than the socialized treatment of the aged and infirm of the modern day. While the consolidated district home marks an advance over the county almshouse, its failure, if it fails to render the kind of service demanded by modern hospital care, will arise, in part, as the result of its administration and in part to the type of inmates received. Its administration is rendered difficult because a motley group—the aged, the feeble-minded, the epileptic and the chronically sick—are sent to the district home.

The counties have approached the problem of consolidation on the basis of first, the economies to be effected and second the care of the needy poor. These points of view play considerable part in providing finances and thus the character of personnel for the maintenance and administration of the institution. Being more familiar with the county almshouse where the essential qualification of the superintendent was his ability as a farmer, than with the practices of a modern hospital home, considerable effort is often necessary to induce the members of the boards of supervision to include in the budget a salary sufficient to attract a superintendent with training and ability as an institutional executive.

Relief vs. Rehabilitation

Changes have taken place in the standards of welfare work. What was considered adequate relief at one time does not meet modern requirements. Palliative methods are in disrepute. The earlier welfare worker regarded relief-giving as an unfortunate necessity; but present day practices regard sufficient aid as an important element in the improvement of the family. The emphasis on measures for prevention rather than cure have grown up in recent years. Public health, recreation, character-building and kindred movements which have developed well within this century may be classed as part of a preventive welfare program. While there has been an improvement in the quantity and quality of service in all branches of welfare work in the last ten years in Virginia, greater supervision might well be exercised in giving relief. This is made difficult because of the large number of cases carried by the superintendent of public welfare, the diversity of the work, and the inaccessibility of a large number of cases. In one county where something over one hundred cases were given material relief during

the year, some of the cases had never been visited by the superintendent of public welfare. To have visited some of the cases at the most favorable time of the year would have required several days and would have been almost impossible at other times.

The amount of relief is often inadequate, being as low as fifty cents a month in one county and rarely more than five dollars a month. Emphasis might well be turned to giving guidance and direction rather than material relief to families. To administer this type of a program is difficult because most appropriating bodies regard personnel as a secondary matter in relief giving. They want the money appropriated to go for relief rather than for service.

The Homeless and Transient

The homeless and transient in the county while not so great a problem as in the city, constitute nevertheless a more or less public menace in that they are released from all controlling forces of family life, regular industry, friends and settled residence. There are among them a great variety of characters, from young boys who have run away from home and who need careful direction at such critical times in their careers, to the hobo, the vagrant and the criminal types. The problem of the homeless and transient is one which no community can cope with successfully alone, since they are bound up with economic and social phenomena which cannot be controlled locally. The problem is aggravated by the practice of "passing on"—the transient is given means to reach another community. The transportation of non-resident dependents is generally regarded as a function of government. Such dependents are legitimately the responsibility of the community in which they have a legal residence.

Leadership

Lack of leadership—lay and professional—is one of the serious difficulties of organized county welfare work. The tenacity and propulsive energy of a single individual or a small group is the real secret of the existence and continuance of a welfare program. This simply reflects the nature of social processes in community action. Welfare work in large cities is older and usually more firmly established, attracting proven leadership for executive positions. Workers in the city enjoy the association of numerous fellow workers and educational opportunities for advancement in their chosen work; adequate staffs and finances are more readily obtained. Welfare work in small communities and rural areas is newer and less developed; there is less apprecia-

tion of and demand for trained workers; one must be an executive and worker combined, and possess all round qualifications; the worker must plan and execute his own program, often without supervision. Specialized agencies are not numerous so that greater resourcefulness is required in serving clients. From an organization and administrative viewpoint the county presents difficult problems.

Is there any solution to the problem of rural welfare leadership? Just as the number of agencies in the smaller rural communities is few so is that of the available talent for their direction. Many of the professional leaders are largely non-resident, for example, the rural minister and the transient school-teacher. If rural communities can not supply resident leadership for their better-established and presumably more important interests, can they hope to do so for the more recent and less pressing agencies.

There is some hope that the problem may be in part met through local committees. What are the chances of giving sufficient training to volunteer leaders so that they may assume most of the work in the local community? There is considerable uncertainty as to the ability of the professional leader to give the necessary training and supervision to those who do volunteer work; yet there is some evidence in the older county organizations of the development of personal character and capacity for leadership on the part of volunteers. It is humanly impossible for one person alone to carry the variety and volume of work found in a county. The worker's salvation lies not in doing it all but in working through and with individuals and groups. Through regular meetings and continuous work they become informed on welfare matters and become an educational force.

Case Worker vs. Administrator

Case work in rural counties and small communities is comparatively new. A worker in a large city goes about his work as a part of a large welfare service machine. The city worker does not have to worry so much about the finances of the organization for which he works; he has few contacts with officials of the city government; and there are special agencies to which clients are referred.

A rural worker is as a rule the only one doing his special type of work in the community. The rural worker is a general practitioner; he comes into contact with the officials of county government, school people, doctors, lawyers, civic organizations, fraternal societies, and religious agencies; the client must be taken through all stages of their treatment; for the private agency attention must be given to the

financing of the work; remedial and preventive work must be carried on simultaneously. The rural worker may go weeks at a time without seeing another worker; there is not the advantage of frequent conferences with welfare workers; there is little supervision or little opportunity to secure guidance from one with more training and experience.

To attempt to do all the work often results in the county welfare worker taking too little time to contemplate and plan. The urgency of the task compels attention to the work at hand, with the result that the philosophy underlying the service is forgotten. There is no time left to study the program. Workers get lost in minute details and struggle with a maze of problems without seeing the general principles which should guide in rendering the service. Too little is known of actual results and how they are brought about. It may be that a greater emphasis upon administration, though none the less upon case work, would produce better results. In the nature of things the county welfare worker must be an administrator if the necessary work of the county is to be accomplished. For some time to come a county of 45,000 population cannot expect to have more than one welfare worker and an office secretary dealing with relief and rehabilitation problems. With the rates of dependency and delinquency per thousand being as they are one worker attempting to handle each case finds himself overwhelmed. His hope of mastering the situation is to set at work the agencies and individuals in the community, and work through these avenues to bring to pass the need care. The county welfare worker is an administrator; anything less will fail to bring about the necessary service. The superintendent of public welfare of Arlington County as an administrator has accomplished much through getting groups to do some of the welfare work of the county.

Behavior Problems and Mental Hygiene

The public too often fails to recognize the existence of behavior problems in the home, the school, and the community, and it is relatively a small proportion of such problems that ever come to the juvenile court. Facilities for the early diagnosis of these problems are lacking for rural people. In the counties studied there are no habit clinics for children of preschool age. There are no child-guidance clinics for the psychiatric study and treatment of children presenting conduct problems in the schools and the juvenile courts. In such clinics attention is directed to the preventive aspects of the work and deal with children who are not court problems but who

present difficulties of personality or social adjustment at home, in school, and in the community.[1]

The counties studied have juvenile and domestic relations courts but none of them are equipped to discover the mental factor in the delinquent, dependent, and neglected children who come before it. Many of the cases that come before the juvenile and domestic relations courts are more in need of investigation and treatment in the social sense than of punishment. What has been said concerning the cases coming to the juvenile and domestic relations courts is as true of the police courts and circuit courts. Provision for mental hygiene programs would correct the hit-or-miss methods that have been all too prevalent in the treatment of dependent or delinquent children and adult offenders. Those committed to the State Department of Public Welfare are given a thorough clinical study—physical and mental.

Records

Better records for all agencies is very much to be desired. While much progress has been made in this matter the need is acute for systematic records that will reveal something of the character of the work rendered. More has been done in securing the improvement of financial records than those of welfare services. Records of relief cases are so chaotic and so incomplete that it is with difficulty that statistics are obtained as to the number of individuals receiving relief in a county.

There is a need for a standardized basis for reporting statistics of social agencies so that such figures may be properly interpreted. A comparison between different institutions and between different geographical divisions would throw some light upon the variations in the actual processes of welfare work of different institutions and agencies and of different geographic areas. In short, no action can be taken to prevent dependency, delinquency and other social problems unless there are scientific facts on which to base conclusions.[2]

Underdevelopment

There is more underdevelopment than overlapping in county welfare work, many communities lacking any kind of group activities. Even the church plays a minor role. Many of the needs are left

1. A State Mental Hygiene Clinic was organized in November 1928.
2. The State Department of Public Welfare has recently perfected a record system for the public agencies.

unsatisfied because there is no agency to provide the service. The work is not evenly developed in accordance with the distribution of population. Where the work has had some unusual stimulus, either through popular education or through a strong personnel, its program has grown in response. The unevenness of this growth has been due in part to the fact that in only a few counties has the work become a vital part of the public program. So far, much of the work has depended very largely on private initiative, which, on the whole, affects small areas. The development of welfare service has, therefore, suffered from what may be called unstandardized private initiative.

Coördination of Welfare Activities

There is lack of a definite and coördinated welfare program for the county embracing both character-building and recreational agencies on one hand and relief and rehabilitation on the other. The welfare activities appear to be an accretion of individual activities, developed in accordance with the prestige of an individual, and administered in response to varying local and personal sentiments. As a result in the place of a county system of welfare embracing character-building and recreational, the relief and rehabilitation agencies, there exists isolated groups each more or less autonomous, with varying and at times conflicting policies, and each manifesting a lack of confidence in the other. The administration of the county agencies ranges from varying degrees of inefficiency to commendable effectiveness, from inadequate methods to the use of scientific standards and policies.

Recommendations of New York Bureau of Municipal Research

The New York Bureau of Municipal Research in its report on County Government in Virginia stated their summary of findings in reference to welfare conditions as follows:

1. "The overseers of the poor represent a system of outdoor relief which has so fully demonstrated its inefficiency that it ought to be abandoned immediately.

2. "The establishment of local boards of welfare offers the most satisfactory immediate solution of the problem of public welfare betterment, but to function efficiently these boards must be provided with paid executives, trained in social work.* * *

3. "The juvenile and domestic relations courts and their associated services for the supervision of children on probation, or in temporary detention, are so poorly supported by the county governments that their efficiency is greatly impaired and their effort largely wasted. The extension of the jurisdiction of these over larger population areas would, in many instances, make possible the maintenance of a more adequate organization without increasing per capita costs to the population served.* * *"

"In order to remove at once one of the barriers to better coöperative effort in the counties, and to stimulate the organization of local boards of welfare, it is recommended that the poor law be amended to abolish the overseers of the poor and transfer the duties and responsibilities of these officers to the members of the boards of supervisors in their respective magisterial districts.* * * *

"With respect to the juvenile courts, it is recommended that the law relative to the appointment of their judges be so amended as to acquire that such appointments be subject to the approval of the State Commissioner of Welfare in all cases. There are two opportunities for improvement of juvenile court work which could be better utilized provided the State Commissioner of Welfare were given such authority. The circuit judge now has authority, under the law, to appoint the same juvenile court judge to act for a city and one or more counties, or for two or more counties, within his jurisdiction. If the opportunity thus afforded for the establishment of consolidated juvenile court jurisdictions were taken advantage of, it would be possible for many counties, or cities and counties, to provide a more competent juvenile court organization than any one county could or would be willing to provide on its own responsibility. The State Commissioner of Public Welfare is in a position to determine when such consolidations could be made to best advantage, and if he were given authority to approve the appointments made by the circuit judge, his judgment, with respect to such consolidations, would have proper weight.* * *

"Our thought in thus limiting the appointing power of the circuit judge is merely to give the State Commissioner of Welfare a reasonable measure of control over the organizations of the juvenile courts. The success of the whole program of State supervision of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, and the economic administration of funds for this purpose, depends largely upon the efficiency of the county juvenile court's work. If they fail, as they often do, because

of the incompetency of their judges the State, as well as the counties, must pay. They would be less likely to fail from this cause, at least, if the appointment of the judges was subject to the control of the State Commissioner of Welfare." [3]

Relation of State and Local Agencies

What is the proper relation between State and local government in public welfare? What agency can supply the element of continuity in the welfare program? Must it be left to the local community or to the State? How can a strong indigenous expression of community life become responsible for the needed welfare services? How can the work be organized in the interest of people served rather than in the interest of an agency? At present the function of ultimate guardianship is exercised by the State with respect to dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, the insane and the criminal. The initiative for the care of these groups is left with private persons and organizations in the local community. Present laws lay upon the State Department of Public Welfare general duties in the matter of inspecting child-caring organizations and institutions, the jails, and the almshouses. Since the county is merely a local administrative unit of State government, it is the duty of the State to establish standards of administrative practice in the counties and to see that they are maintained. The best development, however, of local responsibility is secured through leaving to the county the administration of the welfare service.

It seems wise to centralize the State's authority and duty so far as practicable in the State Department of Public Welfare. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research pointed out that the betterment of welfare services of the county is dependent upon the strengthening of the State Department of Public Welfare. The machinery of the State Department operates in every part of the State through county boards of public welfare, juvenile and domestic relations court, judges, probation officers, sheriff, and jailors. The coördination of local welfare agencies with a central one is expected to be an educative force of great value in developing right ideals and methods of welfare work throughout the State, besides affording opportunity and responsibility for initiative. One of the steps that might be taken to coördinate welfare work and make for high standards would be for

3. County Government in Virginia—New York Bureau of Municipal Research. 1927, pp. 66-67.

the State to carry the responsibility for case work in regard to family welfare service. This involves, however, sufficiently large appropriations to cover the salary and expenses of an adequate number of welfare workers to make investigations and render the necessary treatment for which the State becomes responsible. The other procedure would be to provide adequate state supervision, licensing, and inspection to insure an acceptable standard of case work on the part of the public welfare agencies of the county. The latter procedure is the policy now followed in Virginia. With the county board of public welfare given wide powers of control in local matters, there is a stimulation of public interest in local affairs.

The State Department may well be responsible for service to the counties in the following ways: (1) educate the county to realize the existence of serious social problems in its midst, to the value of skilled service in dealing with them; (2) guide the organization of the local county work so that the program planned will meet the primary needs of the county concerned; (3) help find a worker whose qualifications are especially suited to the character of the program needed and to the people served; (4) supervise the work so that the relationship between the State and county agencies will be so sympathetic that the county agency will welcome new policies and facilities needed to carry out an enlarging and expanding State program.

Many will find in a centralized plan too much centralization and too little recognition of group diversities within the State. The principle is generally accepted that the State, representing all the people, has a right through its licensing power, to be assured of the type of care which welfare agencies are affording their wards. To prevent the worst type of individual or agency from exploiting their charge, it is necessary to give the State power over all agencies, the best included, for the law to be constitutional must be uniform in its application.

Public administration, in the last analysis, must respond to the thoughts and beliefs of the majority, or suffer extinction. The agency which has the highest standard of service has the least to fear from State interference, because of the intrinsic merit of the work it does and because that merit is usually well known to a large group who are vigorous in the support of its activity. The State can emphasize the standards generally accepted as fundamental leaving the question of internal management or individual policy as to methods to the local institution.

Data Needed for Working Out a Long-Time Welfare Program

Population and Area to be Served

Planning for welfare activities means making provisions for fundamental services to a given number of people. For how many people shall plans be made? This question is an important fact to be determined. The size of the population group to be served, and its rate of growth are important basic considerations in welfare planning. The planner must estimate the probable future population of the unit under consideration before he can even begin constructive planning. Hence, there is the necessity for a detailed study of population, visualizing its growth in an impartial, analytical and scientific manner.

In this study of the population to be served by welfare agencies, certain facts are important. One of the problems to be taken into consideration in the analysis of the population growth is to determine what the future is likely to hold in store. Some of the factors influencing the rate of growth are the birth rate, death rate, immigration, and emigration. These factors in turn are influenced by other forces such as the character of natural resources, nature and extent of industry, cultural advantages, opportunities for State and Federal activities, presence of institutions, for example, resorts and educational agencies.

There are various ways of ascertaining or predicting the probable size of future populations. The straight line method, as it may be called, determines certain facts regarding the population in its present state, and from these facts deduces the size of the population at some future time. By this method the present size and rate of increase is expressed either as an arithmetic or geometric rate.[4] By this process there may be obtained fairly reliable predictions for comparatively short periods of time.

Pearl and Reed have devised a more accurate method for predicting population growth. Their theory is as follows: "At first the population grows slowly, but the rate constantly increases to a certain point where it, the rate of growth, reaches a maximum. This point of maximum rate of growth is the point of inflection of the population growth curve, after that point is passed the rate of growth becomes progressively slower, until finally the curve stretches along nearly horizontal, in close approach to the upper asymplote, or limit which belongs to the particular cultural epoch and area involved." [5] Stated as

4. The Federal Bureau of Census follows this method in its mid-year estimates of population.

5. Pearl, Raymond and Reed, Lowell, J.: *Predicted Growth of Population of New York and Its Environs,* 1923, p. 12.

a rule for population prediction the idea would be as follows: The rate of population growth varies, being slow at first, then increasing in rate to a maximum, and then slows down until almost a stationary aggregate of population is maintained.

Wealth Resources of a Community

In any plan for the development of a system of welfare, the problem finally narrows down to what the people are willing to invest in this type of activity. One factor producing differences in the life of a community is income and its distribution. Some communities are rich and some communities are poor because of economic conditions inherent in their location, topography and natural resources. Thus, financing of welfare activities and facilities becomes a fundamental problem. From what sources can the money be derived to meet the needs of the various agencies?

One of the means of discovering funds and at the same time make for efficient administration of welfare agencies is the planning of a long-time expenditure budget. Only by such a long range program will a community be able to keep welfare expenditures under adequate control and yet meet the legitimate welfare needs of a community.

Some of the financial data needed for working out a longtime expenditure budget are:

1. The value of real and personal property.
2. The amount of bank resources and deposits.
3. The amount of income tax.
4. The amount of public revenues for welfare services.
5. The amount and source of voluntary gifts for welfare service.
6. The extent of bequests and grants for permanent endowment.
7. The earning capacity of welfare agencies.

Information on these items should be secured not only for the present but should extend into the past and be projected into the future.

Agricultural and Industrial Condition

Agricultural and industrial conditions have an important bearing upon welfare activities. Such condition as character of work, the amount of income, seasonal activities, industrial hygiene, housing and sanitation, in a measure set the task of the welfare agencies. The type of industries in the community influences the kind of laborers demanded, and the income received. For example, in several counties

studied, tobacco once was the basis of the economic life, but it is no longer grown in these counties. This has caused a change in the work habits of the people and influenced the source of their income.

Another phase of the problem which it is well to recognize is that occupations determine for a group the fundamental modes of activity, the chief modes of satisfaction, the standards of success and failure, the set of objects and relations that are imporant. Occupations provide the material of attention and the qualities that are interestingly significant. An agricultural life differs from an industrial life in the sort of satisfactions and ends it furnishes, in the objects to which it requires attention, in the problems it sets for reflection and deliberation, in the ideas of success and failure. Every special occupation, every difference in modes of living, all progress and every change in economic relationship between communities have their effect on the population, the density and relationship of people. What makes all this of significance for public welfare is the fact that a disturbance or change of activities in the agricultural or industrial realm disturbs the run of activities of the individual with the result that some are unable to make the necessary adjustments and hence are under the necessity of calling upon some agency for help.

Legislative Provisions

Changes in the conditions of living and labor are followed by corresponding readjustments in social relations. Statutes follow one another in rapid succession seeking to make definite the obligation of government, corporations, and individuals to the new conditions. Legislative provisions for old age, sickness and unemployment insurance, mothers' aid and workmen's compensation, have their part to play in the welfare service provided. For example, the character of health legislation has an important bearing upon community health. Legislative enactments set the stage for the kind of welfare services to be rendered. If these services are not provided for by government, private agencies are called into being. With the large extension of welfare functions under governmental auspices, the character of legislative enactments takes on added significance.

Leadership

The development of a program of welfare activities is dependent upon competent leadership—lay and professional. The role of the laymen in welfare programs has been confined largely to financing; but there is reason to feel that the directorate of boards and the member-

ship of committees, if thoroughly conversant with the underlying and fundamental principles of welfare work, would build beneath the efforts of the professional worker a solid basis of social intelligence.

To train and guide the laymen requires a thoroughly trained professional group. The importance of special training for welfare workers has been demonstrated so frequently that it is superfluous to comment upon it here. Many of the welfare problems are so difficult as to baffle even the trained, experienced worker. A community owes it to itself to make possible a trained personnel so that the kind of work that needs to be done can be done.

Natural Areas and Social Groups

The natural areas and the social groups making up the human aggregation called a community were spatially distributed as the result of the interplay of a complex of natural and cultural forces which affect a more or less conscious relationship among the units constituting the community. In the beginning, geographic forces such as rivers, valleys, mountains and gaps, hills and springs have significance with regard to the physical and cultural structure of a county. Aspects of human habitation such as dwellings, roads, industrial and commercial institutions become spatially distributed, partly on the basis of the geographical factors, and partly in accordance with cultural forces operating in the county or larger areas, and become integrated into rather definite forms with the relation of dominance and subordination as the dynamic organizing principle. Thus with the present means of transportation and communication, large centers are supplied with all sorts of merchandise, and the habits of changing agricultural produce into bonds and bank notes has taken from the small center much of its former importance. More and more rural communities are being oriented toward the city. It is the city that controls and gives meaning to rural communities. Business transactions or other movements back and forth tend to increase the density of population along the lines where different modes of life come in contact. In the beginning, physical geography, natural advantages or disadvantages determined the outline of the county; with the increase of population, the subtler influences of culture, such as taste, sympathy, likes and dislikes, and of economic necessity tend to control the distribution of the population and its organization.

In the growth and development of the county there may be observed the processes of concentration and segregation. As population increases, new contacts with the soil are established; individuals take

root in definite areas. While in some cases this decision may be voluntary, it is compulsory for others—the result of being driven back into less desirable regions. As the available space becomes occupied, the struggle becomes more intense. In the concentration and segregation of people competition plays a major role in sorting and distributing the individuals who are in competition with each other, not only for economic goods, but for position in the community. The individual with poor resources, material, social, or personnel, or who through accident, sickness, or some other uncontrolled circumstances is unable to compete successfully with his fellows, is pushed into a position from which he can not secure an economic income sufficient to meet the necessities of life. Individuals of like fortune are segregated into the same natural area and social group. Some locate in the most favorable sections of the county and those less capable will in due time be compelled to locate in the less favored areas. Each area tends to come to possess a character of its own. What was once a geographical territory is transformed into a locality with sentiments, traditions, and standards which make it distinct from other localities. Such natural areas and social groups have an intimate relationship and bearing upon welfare problems.

Some Fundamentals of a Welfare Program

The Problem

The science of public welfare is in its infancy. One of the serious handicaps to its building is the lack of data for the subject matter, and the lack of insight of those who teach, administer and gather material. While we have been adding to our knowledge of human ills, attention has been directed to the immediate, remedial aspects, and too little to the statement of scientific law. Emphasis has been placed upon public welfare as an art rather than as a science. In the execution of a program reliance has been placed upon sympathy rather than analysis. Helping people out of trouble is an art, but the direction of the artist is an administrative function and comes within the realm of political science. Only through acquiring a solid factual basis and an insight into the processes of human failure and rehabilitation can there be reared a structure which may be called the science of public welfare. There are no accurate data upon which to formulate principles of welfare procedure. There are no indexes upon which to evaluate the results of welfare effort. Little is known about the social facts of the community as compared with another. Leaders in the welfare field realiz-

ing this condition are discussing the application of fact-finding methods to welfare work.

While something is known of the cost of welfare work in Virginia, no one knows how much a county ought properly to pay per thousand population to save needy children from destruction, to help needy families, to prevent diseases, and to shelter the aged. There is no exact standard of value for these human services to set over against what is now paid for them. Plans of action are based upon general surmises and individual wishes. "In the past and to a large extent today welfare work is organized in small groups—one group interests itself in family relief, another in child care, others in character-building, another in hospital service, and so on. However, there is growing up a feeling that there should be some instrument capable of drawing adequate support together on the basis of fact, so as to finance and plan adequately. No one can give an absolute figure for adequate support of welfare work in the community, since it has not arrived at such exactness. It is well known by those who have dealt with community fund budgets that the determination of accurately planned or adequately proportioned budgets for welfare agencies are far from being scientific. The science of public welfare has not reached the point at which it can determine the needs of a city of 100,000 for personal service and relief for needy families or delinquency in comparison with its requirements for character-building agencies. The need for scientifically planned budgets is growing more insistent." [6]

What is needed in welfare planning is an orderly adjustment of the existing welfare services to each other and to the total resources—material and personal—of the community, a visualization of the unmet needs, present and future, with a well-thought-out program for meeting them, arrived at upon the basis of data, accurately secured and intelligently and imaginatively interpreted so as to picture what has happened and what may happen.

A community is no longer justified in treating its welfare program as something which will somehow work itself out if each agency does its own job well. It is the interplay of forces and an understanding of the processes of interaction that gives direction and purpose to human effort. This means that welfare problems need to be dealt with deliberately, that conscious direction be substituted for undirected growth and undisciplined development.

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6. Hoffer, Frank W.: *Public and Private Welfare, Roanoke, Virginia,* 1928, p. 111.

An Approach to Welfare Planning

There are among others two fundamental approaches to the problem of adequate understanding of and planning for the welfare services of a community. One is the determination of a "standard unit service per thousand population." The other one is the determination of the "rates per thousand of population" for dependency, delinquency, sickness, and number of welfare agencies. In either one it is recognized that population is not always the focal point to be considered in the unit of service. For example, in Travelers' Aid work the traveling population and railroad connections are two important factors that must be considered.

Two phases of the problem of an approach to welfare planning have been stated by Rowland Haynes. They are the facts based on the characteristics of the population in the community, and the facts based on the environmental conditions influencing the population characteristics. He says, "First then, to illustrate causes which are based on the characteristics of population in a given community, we need to know the age distribution of the population. Thus, a community with a large number of unmarried men employed in its industrial plants will have much fewer problems of child care and old age destitution than a a city where the proportion of older family groups is larger. The need of venereal clinics and athletic fields will be correspondingly larger. Again, we need to know the distribution of different sized individual incomes as related to the cost of living in that particular community. These facts determine largely the amount of need of relief work and the type of hospital care which can be given on a self-support basis. Yet again we need to know the number of mentally subnormal persons in the population, because this type affects to an unusual degree the requirements for social service of various kinds. These are not all the factors which we need to know, but they are illustrations of the type of causal facts, based on population characteristics which are required." [7]

As to the causal facts based upon environmental conditions, there are many factors producing these population characteristics. One of them is due to the causes producing income and its distribution. Some counties are rich and other counties are poor because of economic conditions inherent in their resources and location. Another factor may be stated as the character of the influences of the

7. Haynes, Rowland: *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1927, p. 456.

area surrounding the county and their bearing upon it. The type of industries in the county, the amount of labor supply, the character of legislation, all these and other factors have a bearing upon population characteristics.

Another of the problems associated with determining a "standard unit service" is due to the variation in responsibility, community by community. The greater the population concentration the greater the specialization, but the specialization may be in one direction in one area and in another direction in another. Experience shows that certain variables enter into the situation which cannot be controlled in any one county alone. But it seems fairly certain, in spite of that fact, that more progress will be made if a program with certain definite objectives to be reached in ten or twenty-five years could be mapped out. The objectives might conceivably change in that length of time; but it should be recognized that ten or twenty-five years is a short look ahead in relation to the problems with which the counties are called upon to deal.

The rate per thousand population for the different fields of welfare work is fundamental to a well developed program. While it is difficult to estimate in statistical terms the efficacy of a welfare program or method, it would seem essential to elaborate the use of objective measures and comparative analysis of welfare service.

In the fields of public health the comparison of even such elementary facts as birth and death rates has been preceded by enormous difficulties which have not yet been removed. Before death rates of different counties and localities could be compared an international table of causes of death had to be evolved. Social problems arising out of the interaction of individuals are much more complex and difficult to measure than vital statistics.

Our knowledge of rates per thousand population of widowhood, illegitimacy, crime, delinquency, dependency, old age, is almost at the vanishing point. For example, it is not possible to tell, as juvenile court records are now kept, whether juvenile delinquency is increasing or decreasing. The records of different counties are so lacking in uniformity that no reliable deduction can be made from them. What is true in respect to juvenile court records is more so with reference to the other welfare agencies in the county. The number of cases handled in relief and family service fields and the number of cases in which a child care problem is involved are not known. The same is true of the number of cases actually handled by hospitals and dispensaries under various auspices.

Whatever difficulties may loom in the determination of "standard unit services" and "rates of dependency, or delinquency," per thousand population, efforts to establish such would give at least consistency to thinking and admit of securing cumulative data. Emphasis would be placed upon the services needed by a "standard thousand of population" rather than upon the organizations necessary to carry out the program. The realization of an index of social problems may be expected to develop slowly, but in time produce a method of measuring dependency, delinquency, and other incidences of welfare service analogous to the registration area in the field of vital statistics, although the task will be vastly more complex.

Since 1908, the social conscience of Virginia has awakened to much productive activity and efforts for the development of better welfare work have made rapid strides. In the onward march that is sure to be made in the field of public and private welfare, no emphasis on organization and trained personnel should cloud the individualization of the intimate human relationships that are involved. It is with individual, living people that the welfare organizations are concerned, each of them with his own ties of blood, friendships, likes and dislikes, peculiarities, and qualities. Welfare service—public or private —seeks in a scientific way to give an opportunity to every family to preserve its integrity.

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